Fourth Series

JOURNAL
OF THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY

Vol. VIII, 1966, No. 1

Pages 1 to 74 with 7 plates

32

ASIATIC SOCIETY
1 Park Street, Calcutta 16

Issued January, 1968

CONTENTS

Page

1. *Some Aspects of the Indianization of Ancient Malaya and the Role of the Brāhmaṇas in It* 1
By PROFESSOR H. B. SARKAR

2. *Caste Inter-relationship of the Bārujibis in a West Dinajpur Village* 19
By SHRI TARASISH MUKHOPADHYAY

3. *Terracotta Seals and Sealings from Rājbāḍidāṅgā Excavations during 1961-62* 29
By DR. S. R. DAS

4. *Doctrine of Sarvāstivāda in the Light of Modern Philosophy and Psychology* 51
By DR. ARUNA HALDAR

5. *Reviews of Books:*

(*a*) *Totemism in India* 65
By DR. B. K. CHATTERJEE

(*b*) *The Dust-storm and the Hanging Mist: A Study of Birsa Munda and His Movement in Chhotanagpur (1874–1901)* 66
By PROFESSOR NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

(*c*) *The Iron Age in India* 66
By PROFESSOR NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

(*d*) *The Life of Mir Jumla* 67
By DR. SUKUMAR RAY

(*e*) *Shah Alam II and the East India Company* .. 68
By DR. J. N. SARKAR

(*f*) *Raja Man Singh of Amber* 69
By DR. J. N. SARKAR

(*g*) *Chalcolithic Chandoli* 71
By SHRI D. SEN

(*h*) *A Bibliography of Sanskrit Works on Astronomy and Mathematics* 73
By PROFESSOR CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

(*i*) *Studies in the Upapurāṇas* 74
By PROFESSOR CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

Journal of the Asiatic Society,
Vol. VIII, No. 1, 1966.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE INDIANIZATION OF ANCIENT MALAYA AND THE ROLE OF THE BRĀHMAṆAS IN IT

By Professor HIMANSU BHUSAN SARKAR

(*Received June 13, 1966*)

I

The story of the social, cultural and religious life of ancient Malaya, which will be mainly discussed here, has to be reconstructed from meagre data furnished by archaeological explorations, iconographic and ethnological data, inscriptions and references in the literature of the East and the West. The evidence provided by literature has to be cautiously handled as it sometimes refers to kingdoms which defy all attempts at satisfactory identification. The materials found in the Chinese and Arabic records have been handed down to us from different dates and are sometimes based on hearsay. Where inscriptions or other archaeological remains have been discovered in a particular area, the evidence is valuable in so far as that particular area is concerned, but due to uncertain identification of some places mentioned in literature it is often difficult to bring such evidence in line with the ethnological or other data furnished in early Chinese or Arabic sources. Besides, as the extent of Indian influences varied from State to State the social, cultural and religious life of each State has to be studied separately and in the context of this complex background.

The points of Indian colonization in the Malay Peninsula lay on either coast, as literary and archaeological evidence clearly testifies. In the first five centuries of the Christian era, about a dozen or so petty kingdoms pass in our view in the Isthmian part of the Malay Peninsula.[1] Archaeological evidence leaves no room for doubt that there were several Indianized societies dotting the northern parts of the west coast of the Malay Peninsula during the second or third century A.D. If Takua Pa be the same as Ptolemy's Takkola, there was an early Indian settlement in the port area. On account of the location of the Mĕrbok estuary at the western end of a transpeninsular route to the East, it provided a convenient as well as safe anchorage for Indian shipping in the early centuries of the Christian era. The testimony provided by the ruins of shrines in the valleys of the Mĕrbok Kĕchil and Bujang rivers cannot also possibly have any other implications. By the fifth century A.D., Buddhists had established themselves in this region. Śaivism, however, became predominant between the Mĕrbok estuary and the Kĕdah Peak along the Bujang river in course of the next three centuries. Indeed, Wales excavated ten Śaivite shrines from the neighbourhood of the middle course of the Bujang and referred them to *c.* A.D. 550–750. Two audience-halls and two Mahāyānist temples seem to have been built between *c.* A.D. 750–900 on the same stretch of the river. If these dates be correct,[2] the remains of the shrines could probably indicate the ups and downs in the fortunes of Buddhism and Śaivism in the Mĕrbok and Bujang valleys. The following period was marked by the establishment of Hindu shrines on the left bank of the river. Colonization

---

[1] For a description of these States, *vide* Wheatley, *The Golden Khersonese*, 1961, pp. 282 ff.

[2] These dates have been questioned by Lamb in *Malaya in History* (1958), Vol. IV, pp. 2 ff.

of the Mĕrbok led to further exploration and settlement on the banks of its southern tributaries.[1] Some of these Indian settlements seem to have persisted till Islam burst upon the scene.

From a chronological point of view, another important Indian settlement on the west coast was Kālagam. The Tamil poem *Paṭṭinappālai*,[2] dating from the end or beginning of the third century A.D., refers to 'goods from Kālagam'. This Kālagam is believed by many scholars to be the same as Kaḍāram. Even if this identification be disputed,[3] there is no doubt that this Kālagam of Malaysia had close commercial relations with Puhar or Kaveripaṭṭinam. It appears from later Coḷa inscriptions that Kaḍāram or Kiḍāram of the Tamil works is to be understood in the sense of Kaṭāha-nagara of Sanskrit literature.[4] In the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, Kaṭāha has been described as 'the city of all felicities', where life was gay and enjoyable.

At the port of Kĕdah (Chieh-ch'a of Chinese accounts), pilgrims waited for the proper rhythm of monsoons to cross the Bay of Bengal. Recorded settlement in southern Kĕdah dates from the fifth or sixth century A.D., but in course of time it became the peninsular headquarters of the Śrivijaya empire and attained a dominant position, but it lost this position in the eleventh century A.D. During its days of glory it had close contact with many parts of India and had a large Indian population, but it partook, for several centuries, a cosmopolitan character with a substantial extent of floating population.

Another kingdom on the west coast was Kalāh, whose swords have been described by Abu Dulaf as 'the true Indian swords', but the question of its location has not been satisfactorily settled.[5] In many Arabic works it has been described as on the edge of India.[6]

In the eastern coast lay Tan-ma-ling, which corresponds to Tāmbraliṅga of the Grahi inscription, the Mādāmaliṅgam of the Tanjore inscription. It lay in the Caiya district.[7] The port of Takua Pa on the west coast served as a gateway to Tāmbraliṅga across the transpeninsular way. A name Tamali occurs in the *Mahāniddesa* and S. Levi thought that it was possibly Tambhaling, the birthplace of the learned Buddhapālita. Be that as it may, an undated Sanskrit inscription from this place, probably dating from the sixth century A.D., records an endowment for the common benefit of the Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical institutions arranging for the worship of Pāramitā and Agastya.[8]

---

[1] For a succinct account, *vide* Wheatley, *op. cit.*, pp. 273 ff.

[2] *Vide* K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Coḷas*, Vol. I (1935), pp. 99-100.

[3] Different views regarding its identification have been discussed by Wheatley, *op. cit.*, pp. 263, 279 ff.

[4] The references are to be found, for example, in the *Kaumudīmahotsava* (Act V), probably dating from the eighth century A.D., in the *Vāmana* and *Garuḍa Purāṇas*, the Prākṛta work *Samaraiccakaha* of Haribhadra Suri (c. A.D. 750). Views about its identification have been discussed by Wheatley, *op. cit.*, pp. 42 ff., 278 ff., with literature cited therein.

[5] Kalah, Ko-lo or Kala has been sought to be identified with Kĕdah, Krah, a tract of the Mergui district, etc. It is obviously the Kalah(bar) of Arab geographers. Different views regarding its identification have been discussed by Wheatley, *op. cit.*, pp. 222 ff. *See* s.v. Kalah(bar) in index.

[6] e.g. Abu Dulaf, *Thousand and One Nights* (*Sindhbad's Fourth Voyage*), Yakut (*Mu'jam al-buldan* and *Murasid al-ittila*). It had so large an Indian population that Mukhtasar al-'aja'ib was constrained to say: 'The island of Kalah is a large island inhabited by Indians', while Bakuwi describes it as a 'town of India'.

[7] About its location, *see* Braddell in *JMBRAS*, XXIII, pt. 3 (1950), pp. 1–35; Wheatley, *op. cit.*, p. 67. For earlier views, *see* Takakusu, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion*, pp. xliii–xlv; *T'oung Pao*, 2nd series, Vol. II (1901), p. 130; *BEFEO*, IV (1904), p. 328, fn. 6; *JRAS* (1905), p. 408.

[8] Coedes, *Recueil les Inscriptions du Siam*, II, p. 51, No. XXVIII.

The kingdom of Langkasuka lay near modern Patani on the eastern coast. According to Chinese annals, it came into existence in the second century A.D.[1] A kingdom lying at the narrowest sector in North Malaya constituted the kingdom of P'an-P'an.[2] A revolt in Funan was organized by a Brāhmaṇa from P'an-P'an in the late fourth century A.D. Another important State on the east coast, lying to the south of P'an-P'an, was the kingdom of Tun-Sun,[3] which was a Malay dependency of Funan in the third century A.D. It was already an important trade centre in the sixth century A.D., because 'To its market people came from east and west, and it is visited daily by more than 10,000 men. All kinds of valuable goods are found there'. The Chinese annals of the seventh century refer to the Indianized State of Ch'ih-t'u which probably lay between modern Patani and Kĕlantan.[4] If this location be correct, it would appear that this part of the Malay Peninsula was highly Indianized. We learn from Chinese annals[5] that the king's name was Li-fu-to-se. We are told that 'his Buddhist father abdicated so that he could preach the Word, whereupon Li-fu-to-se reigned in his stead. He resides in the city of Sang-Chih . . . On each gate are paintings of spirits in flight, Bodhisattvas and other immortals . . . To the rear of the king's coach there is a wooden shrine inlaid with gold, silver and fine perfumed woods'. Another Indianized State in this region was the kingdom of Tan-Tan which perhaps lay in the Trĕngganu district in the eastern coast of the Malay Peninsula.

Lajonquiere's Archaeological Report,[6] supplemented by the investigations of Wales,[7] throws interesting light on many of these States. The Report of Lajonquiere refers to the settlements at Chumpon, Caiya, the valley of the river Bandon, Nakhon Sri Dhammarat (Ligor), Yala and Selensing. It states that the most important of these was Nakhon Sri Dhammarat, essentially a Buddhist colony, which probably built the great stūpa of Nakhon Sri Dhammarat and part of the fifty temples which surrounded it. The mass of terracotta votive tablets in the caves inhabited by the Buddhists, of which a few specimens still exist, also belonged to this colony. The inscriptions are unfortunately very rare and only three have been discovered, belonging to the fourth or fifth century A.D. The Ligor inscription of A.D. 775, however, underlines the importance of the Mahāyāna, nourished by Śrivijaya and the Śailendra monarchs. A little to the north lay the Indian settlement of Caiya, which appears to have been Brāhmaṇical at first, but later on Buddhist.[8]

The comparative lateness of Indian colonization in the southern part of the Malay Peninsula probably lies in the fact that the Strait of Malacca, down to late historical times, was infested with pirates and could hardly

---

[1] For text and translation of Chinese and Malay excerpts bearing on this kingdom and other references in Arabic, Javanese and Indian records, together with earlier discussion on the subject, *vide* Wheatley, *op. cit.*, pp. 252 ff., and index under s.v. Langashuka, Lang-ya-hsu(hsiu), Ling-ya-ssu(-chia), Lung-ya-hsi-chiao.

[2] Regarding the location of this place, *vide* Groeneveldt, *Miscellaneous Papers relating to Indo-China*, Vol. I, p. 241, note under +; Pelliot in *BEFEO*, Vol. IV (1904), p. 299; Ferrand in *JA*, onzieme serie, Vol. XII (1918), p. 141; Luce in *Journ. Burmah Res. Soc.*, Vol. XIV (1925), pp. 169 ff; Briggs, *The Far Eastern Quarterly* (now known as *The Journal of Asian Studies*), Vol. IX (1950), pp. 261 ff; Wheatley, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

[3] For text and translation of Chinese annals bearing on this kingdom as also for a discussion regarding its location and the views of previous scholars, *vide* Wheatley, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

[4] *Vide* Wheatley, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 27 ff.

[6] *BCAI* (1909), pp. 184-185.

[7] *IAL*, IX, No. 1 (1935), pp. 1–31.

[8] Lajonquiere, *op. cit.*

be expected to invite sailing ships, except when they were in a sufficiently large number. Even then, permanent settlement in this region would have made it open to standing depredations from organized piracy. The process of Hinduization of Borneo/Kalimantan, after Mūlavarman, might have been cut short for the same reason. In later historical times, some States sprang up in the southern part of the Malay Peninsula, but their early history is virtually a closed chapter. In the far south lay Pahang which, according to the Nāgarakṛtāgama (A.D. 1365),[1] was a generic name for the southern half of the Peninsula. In the Chinese annals it has been designated Pa-hoang (or Po-houang). If this be identical with Pahang, as suggested by Schlegel, its history may be pushed back to the fifth century A.D., but its location at that period cannot be exactly determined. In any case, we learn from the *Nan-shi* and the *History of the First Sung Dynasty*[2] that in A.D. 449 the king of the State of Pahang, named Sari-Pāla-Varma, sent envoys. The State historians Napāti and Sūravan were also sent to China on different dates. These facts, specially Indian names and the accomplishments of the State historians, testify to the high standard of civilization in Pahang. This State of Pahang is also supposed to be the same as P'ong-fong, which occurs in the list of fifteen dependencies of San-fo-t'si mentioned by Chau-Ju-Kua.[3] Malacca and Johore also figure in the Chinese annals dating respectively from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In the Hai-yu (A.D. 1537),[4] we are told of the people of Malacca that 'they write with Indian letters', but the extent of Indian influences in this and other States of southern Malaya in the pre-Islamic period is difficult to gauge for want of sufficient data. In the *History of the Liang Dynasty* (A.D. 502–556), we come across another State called Kan-da-li (variants: Kan-to-li, Kin-to-li), but it is not certain if it lay in the Malay Peninsula or Sumatra.[5] Whether it lay in the Malay Peninsula or Sumatra, the court, if not the kingdom, was Hinduized to a large extent, as the names of the kings and officials attest. In the reign of the emperor Hia-Wu (A.D. 454–465), king Che-p'o-lo-na-lien-to (Śrīvaranarendra) of Kandali sent Tchou-Lieou-to (Rudra, the Indian) to the emperor with valuable presents. In 502, its king, K'iu-t'an-sieou-pa-to-lo (Gautama Subhadra), sent an embassy to China, while his son P'i-ye-pa-mo (Priyavarman or Vijayavarman ?) also sent an embassy in A.D. 519. It is interesting to note that the letter of 502 not only speaks of Buddhism but also of painting. The country reappears in the *History of the Sung Dynasty* (A.D. 960–1279), but very little is known of its Indian culture during the interim period.

On account of the exhaustive presentation of the literary data bearing on Malaya, supplemented by archaeological and other kinds of evidence, we can now form a tolerably fair estimate regarding the Hinduized States of Malaya and see therein depicted the grand role played by the Indian Brāhmaṇas. As in Indonesia, the society of Malaya was apparently based on the caste system, though all the castes have not been specifically mentioned. There is no doubt, however, that the Brāhmaṇas occupied a prominent place in society, and they have been particularly mentioned in many old records. The nobility and the commoners have also been referred to.

---

[1] Canto 14, str. 2.

[2] *T'oung Pao*, serie I, Vol. X (1899), pp. 39 ff. In *BEFEO*, IV, p. 272, Pelliot has questioned the identification.

[3] Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau-Ju-Kua*, pp. 60 ff.

[4] Groeneveldt, *Notes*, p. 126.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 60 ff. Regarding its location, *vide* also Ferrand, *JA*–II, XIV (1919), pp. 238–241; Gerini, *Researches*, pp. 601–604; Pelliot, *op. cit.*, pp. 401-402; Schlegel, *T'oung Pao*, Vol. II, pp. 122–124; R. C. Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvīpa*, I, pp. 78 ff.

The kings naturally constituted the Kṣatriya caste, but the position of the merchants was also important enough to merit attention in the Chinese annals.

The king's position was very exalted. If the interpretation of archaeological ruins from Kĕdah and Province Wellesley in the west coast of Malaya be correct, it would appear that the kings of this region had their palace-halls for audience and also forts for their defence around the fifth century A.D. The Chinese annals, however, provide us with earlier literary data bearing on Langkasuka. It is stated that an exiled relation of the king went to India and there married the eldest daughter of the ruler of that country. When the king of Langga died, this exiled prince was called back by the noblemen to be their king. He died more than twenty years afterwards and was succeeded by his son Pa-ka-da-to (= Bhagadatta).[1] Apart from Indian names of the rulers, it is interesting to note that in his letter addressed to the Chinese emperor in 515, the prince wrote that 'the precious Sanskrit is generally well known in his land. The walls and palaces of his imposing cities are high and lofty as the mountain Gandhamādana'. Although these things seem to refer to China, the high place accorded to the 'precious Sanskrit' and the reference to the Gandhamādana, which implies acquaintance with the Rāmāyaṇa episode of Hanumāna's uprooting the Gandhamādana hill, indicate the extent of Indian cultural influences, at least in the court circles of Langkasuka.

The pomp at the ancient Malayan courts sometimes reminds us of India. Regarding regality in the kingdom of Langkasuka, we read in the *History of the Liang Dynasty* (A.D. 502–556): 'When the king goes out he rides on an elephant, he is surrounded with flags of feathers, banners and drums, and is covered by a white canopy. His military establishment is very complete'.[2] More details of a royal durbar are available in the Chinese annals regarding the Indianized State of Ch'ih-t'u which lay, according to Wheatley, in the vicinity of Kĕlantan in north-eastern Malaya. In an obvious reference to the audience-hall, the Chinese annals proceed to state: '. . . the king sits on a three-tiered couch, facing north, in rose-coloured cloth, with a chaplet of gold flowers and necklaces of varied jewels. Four damsels attend on his right hand and on his left, and more than a hundred soldiers mount guard. To the rear of the king's couch there is a wooden shrine inlaid with gold, silver and five perfumed woods, and behind the shrine is suspended a golden light. Beside the couch two metal mirrors are set up, before which are placed metal pitchers, each with a golden incense-burner before it. In front of all these is a recumbent golden ox before which hangs a jewelled canopy with precious fans on either side. *Several hundred Brāhmaṇas* sit in rows facing each other on the eastern and western sides'.[3] The description leaves no room for doubt about the strong influence exerted by Indian culture in Ch'ih-t'u. Some sociological data are also provided by contemporary Chinese annals. Regarding the dress of the king and the people of Langkasuka in the first half of the sixth century A.D., we read therein: 'Men and women have the upper part of the body naked, their hair hangs loosely down, and around their lower limbs they use only a sarong of cotton. The king and the nobles moreover have a thin, flowered cloth for covering the upper part of their body (*slendang*); they wear a

---

[1] *Vide* Groeneveldt, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11. The name of Pa-ka-da-to has also been transcribed as P'o-ch-ieh-ta-to. The data have also been discussed by Pelliot in *JA*, Vol. IV (1914), pp. 390-391, 402; Ferrand, *JA*, XII (1918), p. 140, fn. 1.

[2] Groeneveldt, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

[3] Wheatley, *op. cit.*, pp. 26 ff.

girdle of gold and golden rings in their ears'.[1] The scanty dress of the women sometimes reminds us of iconographic representation of female figures in India, in temple sculpture and Ajanta frescoes and in other places.[2] Further details are available in regard to the kingdom of Ch'ih-t'u, where all persons pierced their ear-lobes and cut their hair. Women gathered their hair at the nape of the neck and both men and women made clothes out of rose- and plain-coloured material.[3]

India contributed to the blossoming of a gay social life in some places of ancient Malaya. Wales has stated that the miniature ḍamaru-drum found in a bronze casket, recovered from the Bujang valley in W. Malaya, reveals a South Indian type.[4] If Kora or Kalah lay on the west coast, as it seems to, then its people, according to the *New History of the T'ang Dynasty* (618–906), played a kind of guitar, a transversal flute, copper cymbals and iron drums.[5] Some of these musical instruments were known in India. Indian music received royal patronage in Ch'ih-t'u, a kingdom in the north-western part of Malaya. When the Chinese ambassadors came to the kingdom in A.D. 607, they were received in a gorgeous way and 'a hundred men and women sounded conches and drums', the same way as in ancient Indian courts. When the ambassadors sat, 'Indian music was played'. During the ceremonial feast a few days later, maidens played music in rotation.[6] In San-bo-tsai, which may refer to the Sumatran or Malayan part of the Śrivijaya empire, the people had a small guitar and small drums; slaves from Pulu Condore made music for them by trampling on the ground and singing.[7] Many such examples can be provided from the bas-reliefs of Indian temple-architecture.[8]

It is interesting to observe in this connexion that although the Brāhmaṇas and other functional groups have sometimes been mentioned in the Chinese annals, the sects and denominations to which they belonged have hardly been described. The Chinese emperor being a follower of Buddhism, the Chinese annalists have referred to this religion in greater detail, sometimes perhaps creating a false impression regarding the comparative importance of this religion in the country. It is also not unlikely that the rulers of Malaya have also occasionally given undue importance to this religion out of various motives. In dealing with such evidence from contemporary Chinese annals, the data have to be handled cautiously. In studying the religious systems of ancient Malaya one has to study, besides the Chinese annals, also architectural, epigraphic and iconographic data of the locality. Out of all these things, one phenomenon

---

[1] Groeneveldt, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

[2] Innumerable figures of this type have been found in India, Ceylon, Indonesia, Indo-China and elsewhere, *vide* V. A. Smith, *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*; Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*; A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art; Ajanta Paintings*, publ. Lalit Kala Akadami; Krom, *Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche, Kunst* III, etc.

[3] Wheatley, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

[4] For a description, *see JMBRAS*, XVIII (1940), pp. 73-74.

[5] *Vide* Groeneveldt, *op. cit.*, p. 122. Wheatley, *op. cit.*, p. 56, translates the passage thus: 'Musical instruments include the p'i-p'a and heng-ti, brass cymbals, an iron drum and the calabash.' For want of description, we do not know whether the p'i-p'a can be brought in connexion with the Bengali musical instrument *bhepu* which has almost the same phonetic value. The antiquity of the latter for such an early period is not yet known.

[6] For text and translation of these passages, *vide* Wheatley, *op. cit.*, pp. 26–30.

[7] Groeneveldt, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

[8] *Vide* V. A. Smith, *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, 3rd edition, plates 73*a*, 83*b*, 127, 128, figs. A and C; Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia* (1964), plates 232, 409*b*, 414.

emerges clearly and that is in regard to a broad measure of religious toleration enjoyed by the people.[1] This is not only reflected in the contemporaneous architectural ruins of Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical structures found co-existing down to comparatively late historical times, but also in references in the Chinese annals.

If we leave aside, for the time being, iconographic data and focus our attention on the Chinese materials, it would appear that Buddhism had already become popular by the sixth century A.D. It has been stated that in A.D. 527 and 530, the king of P'an-P'an sent accredited envoys to present, among other things, a tooth of the Buddha, painted stūpas and ten varieties of perfumes. Six years later (536), an envoy was despatched to present Buddhist relics, miniature painted stūpas, leaves of the Bo-tree, excellent crystallized sweetmeats and perfumes. It has also been stated that there were ten monasteries in the State where the Buddhist monks and nuns studied their canon.[2] The *Liang Shu* also states[3] that in A.D. 530 an envoy from Tan-Tan, another State in Malaya, presented to the Chinese court a memorial which was concluded in fervent Buddhist terms and was accompanied by two ivory images, two stūpas, etc. During and after the reign of Wu-ti (A.D. 502–549), temples throughout China needed Buddhist images, etc., to adorn them. Indeed, between A.D. 527 and 536, P'an-P'an and Tan-Tan supplied Buddhist relics, miniature painted stūpas, leaves of the Bo-tree, ivory images, perfumes, etc., to China.[4] The importance of Buddhism, as has been sought to be made out, might have been due, firstly, to the political motive of the ruling princes of Malaya to ingratiate themselves in the favour of the Chinese emperor and, secondly, to the fact that China was a Buddhist country and hence the presentation of Buddhist images and similar articles left the impression on the Chinese annalists that the country from which these presents came might have been followers of the Buddhist religion. Such may be the case where the information was derived from hearsay. In any case, the Chinese annals tell us that there were also Buddhists in the kingdom of Ch'ih-t'u. There was a monastery for devotees who studied 'the classic of the Asura-king, but they enjoy no great respect. The Buddhist priests are commonly called pi-ch'iu (*bhikṣu*), the others t'an'. In the State of Fo-lo-an, whose exact location is not known but which seems to have lain somewhere in the Malay Peninsula, Buddhism was also much in vogue. We read that the Buddhist temples of this State were tiled with bronze and ornamented with gold. Each year the full moon of the sixth month was kept as Buddha's birthday, with processions, music and cymbals. It has been stated that foreign merchants took part in these celebrations.[5] Similar celebrations were also held in P'o-ni or W. Borneo.[6] It may be noted in this connexion that the princes of San-fo-ch'i or Śrivijaya annually burnt incense before the Holy Buddha of Fo-lo-an.[7]

Unfortunately the Chinese annals do not throw much light on the nature and extent of Hinduism in ancient Malaya. What is known has already been described above in a different context: it leaves the impression of the casualness of the whole thing. But what has been stated is enough to show the predominant character of Malayan Hinduism. We can, therefore,

---

1 Cf. Wales, *Towards Angkor*, p. 75.
2 Text and translation in Wheatley, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-49.
3 *Ibid.*, pp. 52-53.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 292.
5 *Ibid.*, p. 68.
6 *Vide* Chao Ju-Kua, *Chu-fan-chih*, p. 24.
7 Wheatley, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

do well to study the matter further by an examination of the archaeological data of the Peninsula. Unfortunately the earliest phases of religious architecture of Malaya are hard to come by. The ravages of climate, insects, erosive power of equatorial rainfall, nature of materials used and rapid deposition of alluvium have been listed as mainly responsible for the non-existence of buildings from the early days of Hindu colonization. If the roof of a miniature bronze shrine discovered from the Bujang-Mĕrbok river valley be a replica of early Malayan architecture and if the paucity of laterite blocks and tiles at the foundations of ruined sites be any index, it would appear that the superstructure of temples was built of perishable materials. While the early colonists on the estuary of the Bujang used rounded boulders from the region of the upper course for their structures, those on the banks of the Mĕrbok and its tributaries used laterite blocks instead of rounded boulders from the upper Bujang. Houses of the common people seem to have been made of atap, bamboo or wood.

At P'ong-Tuk, where the Meklong river enters the delta of Lower Siam, Coedes unearthed a settlement yielding Buddhist remains from the second to the sixth century A.D., while the remains found from P'ra Pathom further down the valley may be dated in the fifth or sixth century A.D.[1] Some scholars believe that Ptolemy's mart of Takkola lay in latitude 160° 30′ E and 4° 15′ N and is no other than the port of Takua Pa.[2] Whether the identification be accepted or not, it is evident from the explorations of Wales that there was an Indian settlement on an island off the mouth of the Takua Pa river. Ruins of shrines exist in the region about Takua Pa.[3] The small shrine at Phra No Hill houses a magnificent four-armed image of Viṣṇu probably dating from the sixth or seventh century A.D.[4] Vestiges of a small shrine at Khau Phra Narai also testify to some architectural activities in this tract on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula. About twelve miles off from the estuary of the Takua Pa there was another Indianized locality, as the discovery of three images of Hindu divinities would testify. Archaeological discoveries in the region from the third to the eighth century indicate that Takua Pa was a flourishing port during this period.[5] It is not clear if its decline can be linked up with the decline of the port of Tāmralipti. From Takua Pa a route lay across a low hill feature to Tāmbraliṅga in the Caiya (Jaya) district near the Bay of Bandon on the opposite coast. There are traces of Indian penetration along this route.[6] A Tamil inscription from the ninth century A.D. found with the three Brāhmaṇic images from the Takua Pa valley, as referred to above, attests the presence at Takua Pa and its vicinity of a good number of Tamils, including merchants and soldiers, who supported religious and secular institutions of the locality.[7] Just like the Takua Pa river in the north, the Trang river in the south provided another route across the Isthmus terminating at Nakhon Sri Dhammarat on the eastern coast. The small settlement at Vieng Sra lay on a tributary of the Luang river at a point lying almost midway between Takua Pa and Nakhon Sri Dhammarat.

---

[1] *ABIA* (1927), pp. 16–20; *Journ. Siam Soc.*, Vol. XXI, pt. 3 (1928), pp. 195–210.

[2] The problem of its location has been discussed by many scholars. Their views have been discussed by Wheatley, *op. cit.*, pp. 141–144 and 268–272.

[3] *Vide IAL*, IX, pp. 8 ff.

[4] *Vide* Dupont in *BEFEO*, Vol. XLI (1941), pp. 253-254; Wales, *Towards Angkor*, p. 45.

[5] Wales in *IAL*, No. 1 (1935), pp. 9-10; *Towards Angkor*, pp. 47 ff. For earlier literature, *vide* Lajonquiere, *BCAI* (1909), pp. 234–237, and (1912), pp. 166–169.

[6] Wales, *IAL*, IX, No. 1 (1935), pp. 22-23, and *Towards Angkor*, pp. 51–68.

[7] K. A. Nilkanta Sastri in *JMBRAS*, Vol. XXII, pt. 1 (1949), pp. 25–30.

Further south, on the west coast, lay other settlements, viz. Kĕdah and Province Wellesley, while further down lay Kuala Selingsing in the Matang district of Perak.

In Kĕdah and Province Wellesley in the western coast, Col. Low had discovered more than a century ago 'undoubted relics of a Hindu colony with ruins of temples . . . mutilated images',[1] etc., and several Sanskrit inscriptions dating from the fourth or fifth century A.D.[2] A record of mahānāvika Buddhagupta of Raktamṛttika[3] tells us that he donated a votive tablet to his Buddhist iṣṭadevatā, apparently on the successful completion of his journey. Wales excavated over thirty sites in Kĕdah and Province Wellesley, including seventeen sanctuaries, three buildings, provisionally identified as palace-halls for king's audience and two forts, together with other unidentified buildings. The earliest one seems to be a fourth-century stūpa-basement on the summit of the Bukit Choras Hill on the left bank of the Sungei Sala Bĕsar. This seems to testify to a Buddhist settlement in the neighbourhood. Vestiges of Buddhist temples have also been found in the northern part of Province Wellesley, with Sanskrit inscriptions from the fourth or fifth century A.D.

The explorations of Wales have revealed basements of two stūpas in the heart of the Bujang valley. These have been referred to the fifth or sixth century A.D. Wales excavated the foundations of ten Śaivite shrines from the neighbourhood and referred them to *c.* A.D. 550–750. The foundations of some of the Śaivite temples of Kĕdah seem to have been built by Pallava immigrants,[4] but in the west coast no surviving buildings of purely Pallava type, corresponding to the Pallava sculpture which has been found, have hitherto been discovered, though Wales thought that he had found, near to one of the Śiva temples, a miniature shrine-roof closely resembling the roof of a Pallava-ratha.[5] A seventh- or early eighth-century temple excavated on a low spur of the Kĕdah peak is believed to demonstrate a transitional form between the South Indian sepulchral shrines and the caṇḍis of Java.[6] Wales has shown that Śaiva temples of decadent Pallava style have also survived from the eleventh-twelfth centuries. Two Mahāyānist temples were also constructed between *c.* A.D. 750–900 on the same stretch of the river, but these dates have been assailed by others.[7]

On the eastern coast of the Malay Peninsula vestiges of earlier buildings and Hinduized settlements are found in the region about the Bay of Bandon. The transpeninsular route from Takua Pa to Tāmbraliṅga-Caiya, and by the Trang river to Nakhon Sri Dhammarat and other places less well known, facilitated Indian settlements in the eastern coast, specially Vieng Sra, Caiya and Nakhon Sri Dhammarat. Wales considers Vieng Sra, or 'The City of the Lake', to be the earliest Indian settlement on the east coast

---

[1] *Journal of Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia*, 1849, p. 482.

[2] *Vide* Low in *JASB*, XVII, pt. 2 (1848), pp. 62–66; *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, pt. 1 (1849), pp. 247–249. For recent discussion on the subject, *vide*, among others, R. C. Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvīpa*, I, p. 90; Coedes, *Les etats*, etc., pp. 88 ff; K. A. Nilkanta Sastri, *South Indian influences in the Far East*, pp. 82-83.

[3] A seal of Raktamṛttikāmahāvihāra has been found from the site of Rājbāridāṅgā in the village Yadupur near Ciruti station in West Bengal (from a communication to a meeting of the Asiatic Society on 1-7-63). For earlier literature, *vide* Watters, *On Yuan Chwang, II*, p. 192; Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, ed. S. N. Majumdar, p. 733; M'Crindle, *Ptolemy*, p. 229; Ferrand in *JA*, 1919, p. 256; Krom, *HJG*, p. 73; R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 81 ff; Coedes, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

[4] Wales in *JMBRAS*, Vol. XVIII, pt. 1, sites 4–9.

[5] Wales, *The Making of Greater India*, p. 34.

[6] Wales in *JMBRAS*, Vol. XVIII, pt. 1 (1940), pp. 18–21, and K. A. Nilkanta Sastri, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-85.

[7] Lamb in *Malaya in History* (1958), Vol. IV, pp. 2 ff., and Vol. V (1959), pp. 5 ff.

and capital of the State called P'an-P'an in the Chinese annals.[1] He excavated here bas-relief of a temple in which the image of Buddha was fashioned in 'purely Indian style of the Gupta period'.[2] While the inscriptions at Ligor and the pillar-inscription at Caiya may be dated in the fourth or fifth century A.D., the building activities in this region, as archaeological evidence tends to show, have to be dated somewhat later. In Caiya the remains of brick buildings lie scattered all over the city, including 'the brick bases of vanished assembly-halls and little brick shrines, the latter looking very much like miniature Pallava sanctuary towers but modified as Buddhist reliquaries and often crowned with lotus capitals'.[3] Regarding Nakhon Sri Dhammarat, Lajonquiere observed[4] that the most important of the colonies in Malaya was located here. It was mainly a Buddhist colony which probably built the great stūpa of Nakhon Sri Dhammarat and part of the fifty temples which surround it. Wales has observed,[5] 'The archaeological evidence, which shows the survival around the Bay of Bandon of a primitive and non-specialized type of Indian colonial architecture at Caiya and Nakhon Sri Dhammarat, is supported by the existence in the same latitude of the remains of almost purely Indian edifices from which it could have evolved'. Of such temples, the most important ones are the brick temples of Vat Phra That and Vat Keo in Caiya.[6] The general plan of the temple recalls a type of construction carved on the bas-reliefs of Barabudur.[7] Some scholars have noticed in the structure a stūpa of the Phra Cheidi style of Siam, with a covered gallery on all sides, but a small building in the courtyard betrays certain features of the temples of Caṇḍi Kalasan, Dong Doung and Mison in Campā.[8] The roof consists of three gradually receding terraces which reproduce in miniature the main temple and the corner stūpas. It represents, with its one hundred and seventy-one seated Buddha statues in the courtyard, the most impressive structure in the Peninsula. The other important brick sanctuary of Caiya is the Vat Keo, which combines the plan of Caṇḍi Kalasan of central Java with architectural peculiarities of the cubic art of Campā and the pre-Khmer archaic type of Prasāt Krahām of Phnom Kulen (Cambodia).[9] It appears to be one of the non-specialized types of early Indian architecture.[10] According to Wales,[11] both the Vat Keu and the Vat Phra That temples were 'constructed by the Pallava colonists of Grahi of the seventh or early part of the eighth century as Hindu shrines and were then converted to Buddhist use'. Of the few Brāhmaṇical temples of Nakhon Sri Dhammarat, the Ho Phra Isuon reveals an Indo-Javanese style in a strange setting. All the present vats of Nakhon Sri

---

1 Wales, *Towards Angkor*, pp. 74-75.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 76.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 190.
4 *BCAI* (1909), pp. 184-185.
5 In the article in *IAL*, IX, No. 1, pp. 1–31, cited above; *vide* also his *Towards Angkor*, pp. 153 ff.
6 For archaeological description and photos, *vide* Lajonquiere, *BCAI* (1909), pl. II, fig. 7, pl. III, fig. 8; Wales in *IAL*, IX, No. 1, pl. VI, 1 and 3; *BEFEO*, Vol. XXXI, p. 378, 380–384, pl. XXXIX, fig. 41, and pl. XL–XLIV, figs. 42–44; R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 341 ff., and pl. LXXIV, fig. 2.
7 Parmentier in *Etude Asiatiques*, II, p. 210; Lajonquiere, *op. cit.*, pp. 229 ff., figs. 16, 24; *Ibid.* (1912), pp. 148 ff., fig. 34; Wales, *op. cit.*, p. 22; R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 342 ff.
8 *Vide BEFEO*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 373 ff., figs. 39 and 40, and plate XXXVIII; *IAL*, IX, No. 1, plate VI–2; R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 344, and plate LXXIV, fig. 3.
9 Coedes in *IAL*, Vol. I, p. 65; R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 342.
10 Wales, *op. cit.*, p. 21; Coedes, *op. cit.*
11 *Towards Angkor*, pp. 187-188.

Dhammarat have a Siamese appearance, but a miniature shrine of the Śailendra period and some images and ruined Brāhmaṇical temples of the pre-Śailendra period are not altogether absent from this place.[1] Wales has observed further that the little colony of Brāhmaṇas has preserved in its little temples the memory of an early Indian colonial type of architecture.[2] The Vat Kampheng Leng temple complex at Pechaburi in the extreme north of the Peninsula, built in Cambodian style, was originally dedicated to Brāhmaṇical deities, but it also contains images of Buddha.[3]

In the west coast of the Malay Peninsula some Brāhmaṇical images have been discovered. On the top of a hill lying in a small island off Takua Pa, there have been found the remains of 'a small brick shrine which had housed a four-armed stone image of Viṣṇu, well over natural height and coifed with a cylindrical metre'. The image, rather stylized, belonged to the Gupta school and may be dated in the sixth or seventh century A.D.[4] Further south was discovered the well-known cornelian seal of Viṣṇuvarman, found from Kuala Selingsing in the Matang district of Perak; it bears, in incorrect Sanskrit, the legend Śrī Viṣṇuvarmasya in what has been described as Pallava-Grantha character of the fifth or sixth century A.D. The seal seems to depict the image of Viṣṇu seated on Garuḍa, though this is not so obvious.[5] The Caiya image of Viṣṇu has been modelled on the Gupta style and shows remarkable affinity, specially as regards head-dress and huge ear-pendants, with the Kārtikeya of Bhumara.[6] Other Viṣṇu images have been found from the Srivisay Hill between Bandon and Surat and from Vieng Sra. According to Wales, the Vieng Sra image seems to be a lifeless copy of a Pallava model. Dupont has also observed that in spite of characterization of cylindrical metre and ankle-length robe, the less well-modelled Viṣṇus found at Surat and Vieng Sra are later local imitations.[7]

Śaiva images are also quite well known. About twelve miles off from the estuary of the Takua Pa river were found three Śaivite images of the Gaṅgādhara group[8] entwined by twin stems of a great forest tree. The figures betray some affinity with corresponding South Indian images of the seventh or eighth century A.D. Further south, at Sungai Batu in Kĕdah, has been discovered a statue of the goddess Durgā and the head of Śiva's bull which, according to Wales, dates from Pallava times.[9] Some images of Gaṇeśa and Naṭarāja Śiva have also been found, but the places of their origin are at present unknown. The terracotta Gaṇeśa image found in one of the later Śaiva temples of Kĕdah 'is seated in the attitude of royal ease', in sharp distinction from the Indo-Javanese Gaṇeśas.[10]

---

1 *Towards Angkor*, p. 195.

2 For particulars, *see IAL, op. cit.*, pp. 22-23, and pl. VII; also *BEFEO*, XXXI, pp. 373 ff., and R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 343.

3 Lajonquiere, *BCAI* (1909), pp. 208 ff., pl. I, figs. 3-5; R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 343.

4 Dupont in *BEFEO*, Vol. XLI (1941), pp. 253-254; Wales, *Towards Angkor*, p. 45.

5 *Vide JMBRAS*, Vol. XII, pt. 1 (1934), p. 4. Chabra, *JASB-L*, I (1935), No. 1, pp. 27-28, assigns it to eighth century A.D. According to R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, I, p. 81, it has to be dated in the fifth century A.D. A reproduction of the seal may be seen in Chabra, *op. cit.*, pl. 5, figs. 3 and 4.

6 *Vide Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 16, pl. XIII c; Wales, *The Making of Greater India*, p. 31.

7 *BEFEO*, Vol. XLI, 2 pls. XXVIII and XXXI.

8 K. A. Nilkanta Sastri, *JMBRAS*, Vol. XXII (1949), pp. 27, 30.

9 *Towards Angkor*, p. 150.

10 Wales, *The Making of Greater India*, p. 34.

The earliest specimens of Buddhist sculpture from the Malay Peninsula belong to the Amarāvatī school (second to fourth century A.D.), of which some specimens have been found from the archaeological site of Sumatra,[1] East Java,[2] Celebes,[3] Annam,[4] Thailand,[5] etc. Such figures showing influence of the Amarāvatī school are, however, few and far between. The earliest known Buddha statuette from Malaya, measuring 8½ inches in height, was found in Kĕdah by Mrs. Q. Wales. It is believed to date from the fifth or sixth century A.D., but seems to bear the imprint of the Amarāvatī school of art, as the folds of its garments and low uṣṇīṣa seem to testify.[6] Buddhist figures of pure Gupta style have also been found in Vieng Sra,[7] Kĕdah,[8] Perak[9] and Caiya.[10] Buddhist bronzes of pure Gupta style have been found in the Perak valley and are good specimens of art.[11] A standing Buddha, eighteen inches high, was dredged up at Pengkalan near Ipoh in 1931. The image is in pure Gupta style dating from the fifth or sixth century A.D. The Tanjong Rambutan bronze image of a standing Buddha may also be affiliated to the same school, but the fine eight-armed bronze Avalokiteśvara, thirty-one inches high, dredged up from a mine at Bidor in 1936, now at the Perak Museum, seems to betray South Indian influences from the eighth-ninth century, though two other contemporary bronze figures of the same deity, found from a tin-mine near Sungei Siput, betray Pāla influences. Some of the Buddhist bronzes seem also to be affiliated to the Dvāravatī style, which seems to have left its mark up to Ligor. Some of the later specimens have affiliation with South India and Pāla-Bengal. A small bronze image of Tārā, an eight-armed Mahāyānist goddess seated on a throne and dating probably from the tenth century A.D., was also discovered from Caiya.[12] Two magnificent bronze statues of Lokeśvara, discovered about thirty years ago just outside the enclosure of Vat Phra That, is 'remarkable for the serenity of its features, the easy sway of the shoulders and the magnificence of the jewellery which adorn it'. One of the images, 2½ ft. high, has received the highest praise from Coedes, the doyen of historians on South-East Asia, who considers it to be 'among the masterpieces of the sculpture of India and Indo-China'.[13] The style of these beautiful images is purely Pāla.[14] Votive tablets (oval pieces of baked clay plaque), ranging from the Gupta period to the tenth-eleventh centuries with an image of Buddha or other Buddhist divinities in the centre in a non-conventional sitting posture, have also been found in various places of the Malay Peninsula.[15] The contribution of India to the cultural evolution of ancient Malaya has thus been, as in other spheres, profound and significant.

---

[1] Schnitger, *The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra* (1937), pl. 1.
[2] Cohn, *Buddha in der kunst des Ostens* (1925), p. 28.
[3] Bosch in *TBG*, 73 (1933), pp. 495-513.
[4] Rougier in *BCAI* (1912), pp. 212-213, and Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, p. 197.
[5] Coedes in *Journ. Siam Soc.*, Vol. XXI.
[6] *IAL*, XVI (1942), p. 41. *Vide* also Le May, *The Culture of South-East Asia* (1954), p. 74, fig. 47.
[7] *IAL*, IX, No. 1, pl. V (i).
[8] *JRAS*, 1946, pl. XV; *JMBRAS*, Vol. XX, No. 1, pls. i and ii.
[9] *JMBRAS*, Vol. XVIII, pt. 1 (1940), p. 50.
[10] *Ibid.*, *vide* also Evans, *JFMSM*, Vol. XV, pt. 3, pp. 135, 136, pls. xlii, xliv.
[11] Wales in *JMBRAS*, Vol. XVIII, pt. 1 (1940), p. 50; Evans in *JFMSM*, Vol. XV, pt. 3, pp. 135, 136, pls. xlii–xliv.
[12] Wales, *Towards Angkor*, pp. 188-189.
[13] *Ars Asiatica*, XII, pls. 15 and 16.
[14] Wales, *op. cit.*
[15] Photo in *Ibid.*, p. 196.

II

The earliest records bearing on South-East Asia indicate the highly important role played by Indian Brāhmaṇas in the stupendous task of humanizing and civilizing a vast concourse of humanity living in an area of almost continental dimensions. Of known Brāhmaṇic clans, the Kauṇḍinyas of North India, of which a branch exerted considerable influence in the region of Mysore in the second century A.D., took a leading part in this mission.[1] It is probably this branch from South India which undertook, along with others, this task. It is a significant fact that the first and second founders of Funan bore the name of Kauṇḍinya and, according to the *History of the Liang Dynasty* (A.D. 502–556), the family name of the king of P'o-li or Bali was also the same,[2] while the vaṃśakartā of the dynasty of king Mūlavarman was Kuṇḍunga,[3] which also reminds us of the Kauṇḍinya clan of India. That this clan also played a significant role in the history of Malaya appears clearly from the fact that king Kauṇḍinya II of Funan was an Indian Brahmin from P'an-P'an, a State in the Malay Peninsula.[4] There were hundreds of Brāhmaṇas of other clans and denominations who also participated in this process of Indianizing the lands of South-East Asia, including Indonesia. They were the culture-bearers par excellence, though the contribution of the Kṣatriya and Vaiśya elements was also not negligible. The part of the Kṣatriya element in this process of Indianization has been emphasized by Berg and Moens,[5] while Krom and Coedes[6] have, on the other hand, laid stress on the Vaiśya element, i.e. the merchant community, who intermarried with the native women of higher standing. An imaginative expression of what possibly happened has been beautifully described by Winstedt,[7] who says: 'A ship or so came with the monsoon to exchange beads and magic amulets for gold, tin, ivory, camphor and those rare medicines, rhinoceros-horns and bezoars . . . Here and there a passenger practised magic, that proved potent in love or war or disease. Another won regard as a warrior. Some married local brides. Priests came and taught a new ritual in Sanskrit, awe-inspiring as Arabic was to be later, because it was unintelligible to the multitude . . . In time a few married into leading Indonesian families and brought Hindu ideas of kingship, just as more than a thousand years ago Muslim Tamils married into the families of the Sultans and Bendahars of Malacca.'

The hypotheses referred to above have been challenged by Bosch on the ground that neither any praśasti, which should have recorded a digvijaya in the usual Indian style, nor a vaṃśāvali, which should have testified to

---

1 Coedes, *Les etats*, etc., p. 58, with literature cited therein.

2 The Chinese accounts bearing on P'o-li or Bali have been translated by Groeneveldt, *Notes*, pp. 80–84; Schlegel, *T'oung Pao*, 1901, pp. 329–337, and also partly by Pelliot, *BEFEO*, IV (1904), pp. 283–285.

3 The genealogy of this royal house is given in the so-called Yūpa-inscriptions of Kutei. The first three inscriptions were edited by Kern in *VG*, VII, pp. 55–76. All the four inscriptions were subsequently edited by Vogel in *BKI*, Vol. 74 (1918), pp. 167–232. When three more Yūpa-inscriptions were discovered in 1940, these were edited by Chabra in *JGIS*, XII (1945), and *TBG*, 83 (1949).

4 The reference occurs in the Funan section of *Liang-shu*, Chap. 54. Text and translation in Wheatley, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-48. *Vide* also Pelliot in *Le Fou-nan* in *BEFEO*, III, p. 269, about him and his successor.

5 Berg, *Hoofdlijnen der Javaansche Litteratuurgeschiedenis*, 1929, p. 12; Moens, *Srivijaya, Yava en Kataha in TBG*, LXXVII (1937), p. 317. Abridged English translation of the paper by de Touche may be seen in *JMBRAS*, Vol. XVII, pt. 2 (1940).

6 Krom, *HJG*, p. 90; Coedes, *Les etats*, etc., Chaps. II and III.

7 Vide *JMBRAS*, Vol. XIII, pt. 1 (1935), p. 18; *cf.* also Ferrand in *Le K'ouen-louen*, *JA*, 1919, pp. 15 ff.

the high Indian birth in the pedigree of the forbears, has anywhere been found. The virtual absence of Tāmil and Prākṛt words from the classical languages of the Malayo-Indonesian world and the occurrence of only pure Sanskrit words in such vocabulary indicate that the bearers of Indian culture should have primarily belonged to the learned class, i.e. the Brāhmaṇas. Bosch has also posed the question from a different angle. He says: 'For, when Hinduized settlements are mentioned for the first time, they turn out to be established far away in the interior of Borneo and western Java. And it is again in the interior, in the almost inaccessible plains of Kĕdu and Prambanan, on all sides enclosed by volcanoes, that during the flourishing period of central Java, the royal residence is to be found. What, then, was the way in which the Indian traders came into contact with the Javanese kraton society? Did the king, accompanied by the high dignitaries of his court, betake himself to the coast in order to be Hinduized there? Or did the merchants spare no pains in making frequent and toilsome journeys from the coast to the interior? Both these suppositions are unlikely.' In answering this question, Bosch has not taken into consideration one factor, which has attracted people in all ages and climes, the allurement of gold and wealth of other types. In a Malayan State this was the principal attraction for the Brahmins. The Brahmins who came 'from different countries' to attend the *vahusuvarṇaka* vrata of king Mūlavarman or to celebrate the inauguration of a canal constructed by king Pūrṇavarman of West Java do not appear to be less worldly-minded than the Vaiśyas. Those who had crossed thousands of miles over the turbulent seas were not likely to be frightened by the prospect of going to the interior to court the favour of the king, which alone could show them the way to prosperity. The argument of Bosch about Sanskrit words occupying a position of monopoly, to the exclusion of other Indian languages, is highly instructive and points unmistakably in the direction of the Brāhmaṇas as culture-bearers par excellence. The prominent place of the Brāhmaṇas in the inscriptions of Pūrṇavarman in W. Java, of Canggal and Dinaja, underlines this phenomenon. Bosch has well said:[1] 'Again and again, in Hindu-Indonesian civilization we meet with elements of a theoretical and scholastic character, elements which remind us of the manuscript, the code of law, the recluse's cell, the monastery, and which undoubtedly are just as incompatible an environment of warriors or traders as they are in harmony with an intellectual sphere: with the classes of scribes, scholastics, initiates in the holy scriptures and legal sciences, in short all those whom, in the terminology of the Middle Ages, we are in the habit of calling clerks.'

The remarks made above by Bosch hold good, I think, for Campā and Kambuja as well and are also largely true for Malaya. If the traditional account of Burma can be relied on in respect of the first phase of its colonization, the Kṣatriyas played an important role in its colonization. Even if all things are said in regard to all the communities who participated in the process of Indianization of the lands of South-East Asia, it would appear that the contribution of the Brahmins has been of far-reaching character. The rulers of many of these places who were also eager for a Brāhmaṇic consecration, which involved the utterance of mystic formulas and Sanskrit mantras which were unintelligible to them but which were pregnant with magic power, strengthened their dynasties in this way. The Brāhmaṇas, who settled down in these lands and became the courtiers of such kings, further

[1] *Selected Studies in Indonesian Archaeology*, p. 11.

consolidated these dynasties, on request or out of gratefulness, by pushing their genealogies back to the gods and epic heroes of India. The historical tradition of Indonesia and Malaysia in the late medieval and early modern period, when Islam held sway over this region, indicates similar rehabilitation of the rootless royal dynasties of this region.

Brāhmaṇas also played a prominent part in various spheres of life in Malaya. In the kingdom of Ch'ih-t'u, the arrangement for reception and protocol was elaborate and lay in the hands of the Brāhmaṇas. It has been recorded in the Chinese annals that when some accredited Chinese ambassadors reached the borders of Ch'ih-t'u, the 'king sent the Brāhmaṇa Chiu-mo-lo with thirty ocean-going junks to welcome them. Conches were blown and drums beaten to entertain the Sui envoys on their arrival, and a metal cable was used as a hawser for Ch'ang-Chün's vessel. It took more than a month to reach the capital. The king sent his son Na-ya-chia to welcome Ch'ang-Chün with appropriate ceremony. First, he sent men to present a golden tray containing fragrant flowers, mirrors and golden forceps; two containers for aromatic oil; eight vases of scented water; and four lengths of white folded cloth for the envoys to bathe with. On the same day at the hour of Wei (1 to 3 p.m.), Na-ya-chia again sent two elephants bearing canopies of peacock feathers to welcome the ambassadors and a gilt-flowered golden tray containing a decree. A hundred men and women sounded conches and drums and two Brāhmaṇas conducted the envoys to the royal palace. Ch'ang-Chün presented his credentials in the council chamber, where those below the king were all seated. When the proclamation had been read, Ch'ang-Chün and his retinue were invited to sit while Indian music was played. When this came to an end, Ch'ang-Chün and his suite returned to their dwellings and Brāhmaṇas were sent to offer them food. Large leaves, ten feet square, were used as platters . . .'[1] It may also be recalled in this connexion that while at Langkasuka, I-tsing was treated 'with courtesy appropriate to distinguished guests'.

The Brahmins in South-East Asia did not always function as priests or courtiers though these appear to be their principal job. They have sometimes founded kingdoms. A revolt of Funan was organized by a Brahmin from P'an-P'an in the late fourth century A.D. In P'an-P'an there were, as the Chinese annals tell us, 'numerous Brāhmaṇas who came from India *in search for wealth.* They are in high favour with the king'.[2] Many of them obviously became naturalized citizens of the country of their adoption. In Tun-Sun, an important State on the eastern coast of Malaya, we find, for instance, many Brāhmaṇas at the royal court. The *T'ai-p'ing Yu Lan*, which was compiled between A.D. 977 and 983, quotes from an earlier work called *Nan-Shih* to tell us:[3] 'There are 500 families of Hu from India, two Fo-t'u[4] and more than a thousand Indian Brāhmaṇas. The people of Tun-Sun practise their doctrine and give them their daughters in marriage; consequently many of the Brāhmaṇas do not go away. They do nothing but study the sacred canon, bathe themselves with scents and flowers, and practise piety ceaselessly by day and night.' This State was already an important one in the sixth century A.D., because the *History*

---

[1] Text and translation in Wheatley, *op. cit.*, pp. 26–30.

[2] Here we find an explicit motive stated for the coming of the Indians, especially Brahmins, in Malaya. The gold-oriented stories of Indian literature and names like Suvarṇadvīpa and Suvarṇabhūmi may be recalled in this connexion.

[3] Text and translation in Wheatley, *op. cit.*, p. 17. *See also* Pelliot, *BEFEO* (1904), p. 274, fn. 4.

[4] *Hu* and *Fo-t'u* may refer to merchant class. *Vide* Pelliot, *op. cit.*

of the Liang Dynasty (A.D. 502–556)[1] tells us: 'To its market people come from east and west, and it is visited daily by more than 10,000 men'. We have already drawn attention to the huge congregation of Brahmins in the court of the Indianized kingdom of Ch'ih-t'u. The Indian settlement partook of the nature of *kampongs*. It seems not unlikely that there were areas in the neighbourhood of the capital which were exclusively or mainly inhabited by the Brāhmaṇas. Such Brāhmaṇas were obviously the courtiers of the king, giving him advice on various matters and performing other duties, as pointed out above.

There were also 'numerous Brāhmaṇas' in the State of P'an-P'an, where 'the people all learn the Brāhmaṇic writings and greatly reverence the law of the Buddha'. It is obvious that the taboo of sea-voyages[2] did not deter even the Brāhmaṇas, not to speak of others, from undertaking such voyages which involved, according to Baudhāyana, a penance of three years. Those who broke such religious injunctions were not likely to be scrupulous about marriage with native women, as Chinese annals clearly attest.[3] The result of this inter-marriage can even now be discerned in the racial features of some people on either coast of Malaya. In the flourishing port of Takua Pa in the western coast of Malaya, Indians had obviously settled down in large numbers so that persons of the Indian cast of features are common even nowadays. Wales, who made this observation, has also observed the same phenomenon on the eastern coast. He observes: 'Apart from stony relics of the past, there still exists in the Bay of Bandon region a living link with the early days of Indian colonization . . . beyond the watershed there are still a number of families at Patalung and Nakhon Sri Dhammarat in whose veins runs the blood of Brāhmaṇas from India; though, since no female Brāhmaṇa ever accompanied the men, it follows that the Indian strain is somewhat attenuated. At Patalung the Brāhmaṇas seem to be on the verge of melting into the Siamese peasant stock, which forms the main element of the population, because they never perform any ceremonial functions; but at Nakhon Sri Dhammarat they still have three little temples . . .'[4] The position of the Brāhmaṇas was sometimes assailed by the Buddhists, specially when they became predominant in kingdoms where the sovereign had accepted the Buddhist faith. In a multi-religious State like Ch'ih-t'u the position of the Brahmins has thus been assessed in the Chinese annals of the seventh century A.D.: 'It is the custom to worship the Buddha but greater respect is paid to the Brāhmaṇas.' The Brāhmaṇas were not simply courtiers; they sometimes acted as civil servants of the State. In Tan-Tan the king had eight high officers known as Pa-Tso who were Brāhmaṇas.[5] Officers at the court of Ch'ih-t'u had elaborate functions, and, if the Sanskrit equation of the Chinese transcription by Coedes be correct, it would appear that all of them bore Sanskrit titles, e.g. sa-t'o-chia-lo: *sādhukāra*, i.e. benefactor or preferably *sārdhakāra*, assistant; t'o-na-ta-ch'a: *dhanada*, i.e. dispenser of blessings, a title that also occurs on a seal from Oc-Eo; chia-li-mi-chia: *karmika* or agent; chu-lo-mo-ti: *kulapati*, i.e. head of the house, which title also occurs in Cambodian inscriptions in the sense of superior of a religious institution; na-ya-chia: *nāyaka* or guide, which title is also found in an inscription from Lopburi;

---

[1] Groeneveldt, *op. cit.*, p. 119.
[2] *Manusamhitā* III, 158; *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*, I, i, ii, 4.
[3] Barth, *ISCC*, p. 159, note 10.
[4] *Towards Angkor*, pp. 76-77.
[5] Wheatley, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

po-ti, chief.[1] The last two titles are often met with in Old Javanese inscriptions in the sense of petty officers. If the functions of these officials are analysed, it would appear—provided the interpretation of these terms by Coedes is correct—that at least some of them belonged to the caste of Brahmins. The data from ancient Malaya do not, however, help us to resolve the riddle posed by Brāhmaṇic and Kṣatriya traditions of India regarding the relative status of the two highest castes in the social hierarchy of ancient India.

ABBREVIATIONS

ABIA : *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology* (Leiden).

BCAI : *Bulletin de là'Commission Archeologique de l'Indo-Chine* (Paris).

BEFEO : *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extreme-Orient* (Hanoi).

BKI : Bijdragen tot de Taal,- Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie, published by the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie ('s Gravenhage).

HJG : N. J. Krom, Hindee-Javaansche Geschiedenis, 1931.

IAL : *Indian Art and Letters* (London). Name has been changed now.

ISCC : A. Barth and Bergaigne, *Inscriptions Sanskrites du Champa et du Cambodge.*

JA : *Journal Asiatique* (Paris).

JASB : *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Calcutta). Name has been changed now.

JFMSM : *Journal of the Federated Malay States' Museums* (Taiping and Kuala Lumpur).

JGIS : *Journal of the Greater India Society* (Calcutta).

JMBRAS : *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Singapore).

JRAS : *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (London).

Les etats : G. Coedes, Les etats Hindouises d'Indochine et d'Indonesie.

Notes : W. P. Groeneveldt, Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca, published in Verhandeling van het Genootscap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Vol. XXXIX (1879), reprinted in Miscellaneous Papers relating to Indo-China, second series, Vol. I, pp. 126–262.

Researches : G. E. Gerini, Researches on Ptolemy's geography of Eastern Asia (London, 1909).

TBG : Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde published by the Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootscap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen (Batavia, 's Gravenhage). It is now called Madjalah untuk Ilmu Bahasa, Ilmu Bumi dan Kebudajaan Indonesia (Journal for Indonesian Linguistics, Geography and Culture).

VG : H. Kern, *Verspreide Geschriften,* 15 vols ('s Gravenhage, 1913–36).

---

[1] *Vide* Coedes, *Les etats,* etc., p. 135; *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam,* II, p. 14. The term Chia-li-mi-chia = karmika may correspond to *karmmanya* of Old Javanese inscriptions.

Journal of the Asiatic Society.
Vol. VIII, No. 1, 1966.

CASTE INTER-RELATIONSHIP OF THE BĀRUJĪBĪS IN A WEST DINAJPUR VILLAGE

By TARASISH MUKHOPADHYAY

(*Received June 13, 1966*)

VILLAGE AND CASTE COMPOSITION

The work embodied in this paper was done in January, 1963, as a part of a comparative study of intercaste relationship in West Bengal—sponsored by the Anthropological Survey of India.

The village of Baghan is located at 25° 38′ N. and 38° 16′ E. in the police-station of Kaliyaganj (West Dinajpur). At Baghan, the sandy loam, or *bele-doānsh*, is fairly distributed and this factor has been responsible for the growth of betel-vines, i.e. *pān-boroj*, in the village. As the soil is fertile, a fairly large number of crops and vegetables are grown. At the time of investigation, Baghan No. 1 had 103 families whereas Baghan No. 2 has only 66 families. The village was sparsely populated till 1947. But, after the partition of Bengal, a number of families migrated from East Pakistan, purchased land and settled in the village. This new settlement has increased a number of *pāṛās* or wards. Now there are altogether 11 wards in Baghan located on both sides of the railway line.

So far as the settlement pattern is concerned, the wards tend to thrive mostly in clusters. Each ward is predominantly inhabited by one particular caste. Cases of overlap are not, however, uncommon. These clusters dot the entire span of village. Stretches of paddy-fields lie between them and narrow zigzag foot tracks provide the only link from one ward to another. Ten Bārujībī families, or growers of betel-vine, live in the *Ghose-pāṛā* (ward of the Sadgops) with certain other castes like Sadgop (CULTIVATORS),* Debaśarmā (CULTIVATORS) and Nuniā (EARTH-DIGGERS). Only one family lives in the *Mājhi-pāṛā* (wards of *boatmen*), where the Namaśūdra (FISHERMEN), Dhībar (FISHERMEN) and Barman (CULTIVATORS) live.

The village has a total of 169 families with a population of 937. They are divided into 18 castes, excluding a number of Muslims and Santals. It is predominantly inhabited by Hindus, of whom the Debaśarmās (46) constitute the major caste. Also there are Rāṛhīśreṇī Brāhmaṇ (3), Kāyastha (WRITERS) (3), Goālā (MILKMEN) (1), Bārujībī (11), Hāṛi (BASKET-MAKERS) (19), Baiśya-Sāhā (MERCHANTS) (8), Dhībar (10), Jāliā-Kaibartta (FISHERMEN) (3), Musāhar (PALANQUIN-BEARER) (1), Nuniā (6), Rājvor (CULTIVATORS) (7), Barman (3), Rājbaṅgśī (CULTIVATORS) (1), Sadgop (4), Namaśūdra (2) with Muslim (CULTIVATORS) (14) and Santal (3). But it is curious that Baghan is completely devoid of artisan castes and even today, no member of any artisan caste has chosen to settle in that village.

SOCIAL POSITION

In the village, there are altogether 11 Bārujībī families comprising a total of 78 individuals: 41 males and 37 females. The average size of the

---

* Names of castes printed in small capitals indicate that their occupations are hereditary by tradition among the castes in question.

family was found to be 7·1. In the village, their rank, which also includes the Barmans, is fifth.

All of these 11 families are recent immigrants from East Pakistan. They formerly lived in the districts of Rajshahi, Rangpur and Bogra, from where they came from 7 to 13 years ago. In their new settlement at Baghan, these families have been trying hard to make a living; and it should be recorded that the benevolent Sadgop landholders of Baghan have been very helpful to them in this respect.

The Bārujībī families have different clans or *gotras*. These are *Mukulṛishi*, *Orgashi*, *Kāśyap*, *Gautam* and *Ālādashi*. They do not allow marriage within the same *gotra*, which goes largely against the statement of Risley.

The census data show that most households contain joint families except in one family where the brothers have separated. Cases of simple family and in one case an irregular type of family, i.e. where a particular individual lives alone, are also noticeable. In one family the head of the household takes care of his brother's daughter and she stays with him from her childhood. Probably this is a case of adoption (?) as the head of the household has no issue of his own. In another case, the father-in-law was found to live in the son-in-law's establishment with common messing.

The last generation cared little for education; but at present some have passed the matriculation examination and are trying to go in for higher education.

COMMENSALISM

Regarding smoking, the Bārujībis will not accept the earthen bowl of a tobacco-pipe from other castes. It is acceptable only from fellow-castemen. The tobacco-pipe is not also acceptable from Hāṛi (BASKET-MAKERS) or Muslims. But, in general, they accept the pipe from castes of higher rank.

So far as the acceptance of food is concerned, they usually accept items like wheaten pancakes cooked in ghi (*luchi*, *puri*), sweets, curd, etc., from castes like Brāhmaṇ, Kāyastha, Sadgop and Baidya. These items are known as *pākā* food. But regarding cooked rice they are more particular, and as a rule they won't accept it from castes other than the Brāhmaṇs, Baidyas, Sadgop (but not from the Goālās, MILKMEN) and from Kāyasthas. As a matter of fact, formerly they refused to accept even cooked rice from Kāyasthas. But at present, after living very close to them, the intimacy has broken their original rigidity.

Acceptance of drinking-water is also restricted to a limited number of castes living at Baghan. However, the opinion is controversial; but some of the castes were found to be common from whom they accept water unhesitatingly. Thus castes like Brāhmaṇ, Kāyastha, Sadgop, Goālā, Debaśarmā and Barman (Paliyas) are castes from whom water is found acceptable.

A Bārujībī family finding themselves in need of borrowing rice, oil, salt, etc., usually prefer to meet their fellow-castemen or families in the same ward with whom they have friendly relationship. But they seldom borrow from others of a lower group. It is interesting to note that salt, specially that which is in the kitchen and has already been used, is not accepted. This salt is considered by them as *ento* or ritually defiled.

When a feast occurs in a family, castemen living near the home are invited. They also invite others; but that depends more on the economic condition of a family. Thus, in one family, they only invited fellow-castemen, but another family invited castes like Brāhmaṇ, Kāyastha, Sadgop, Debaśarmā, Baiśya-Sāhā and also Muslims. Castes other than Brāhmaṇs sit in the same row—sometimes leaving a little space between. The Muslim

invitees were invited to a feast two days after. Cooking was done separately for them. But the Muslims do not generally mind this discrimination. During the feast, cooking is mostly done by a Brāhmaṇ and so it becomes acceptable to all. Sweets are either made at home or purchased from the market. Milk products are supplied by Goālā (MILKMEN). Some people of lower castes gather uninvited and they are also treated to the feast; though their turn comes last.

Traditional Occupation and Change

The traditional occupation of the Bārujībī caste is the cultivation of betel-vine and farming. It is evident that the traditional calling is progressively being given up from one generation to another. What we can assume is that in the first ascending generation families were primarily engaged in farming (4), betel-garden (4), farming and betel-garden (2) and betel-garden and business (1). Again, the same generation accepted the following as their subsidiary occupations: betel-garden (1), business by loans and mortgages (3), farming (3), supplying curds for feasts (1), and none in three families.

In the present generation, six families are engaged in betel-garden—one in betel business, one works as a day-labourer, one is in farming, one in the manufacture of *guṛer-maṭkā* (a sweet) and the others are unemployed. Again, so far as the subsidiary occupation is concerned, the nature of occupations is: work in the betel-garden and service (1), work in the betel-garden and farming with one son in service (1), service as health assistant (1), employed in a flour mill and one son assists in father's betel-garden and farming (1) and seven are without any occupation.

Service Relationship

The Bārujībīs employ a number of other castes to work for them. For betel-garden, the Bārujībī families usually depend on fellow-castemen. In such cases no cash payment is made, but the labour is returned when the other man needs it. But for other castes, there is the system of cash payment. The payment comes to Re.1 with light food in the morning. But this is not fixed in any way and the rate of payment varies with different jobs. In one case, the construction of the plinth and roofing of a house were entrusted to a Rājbaṅgśī on contract and Rs.90 was paid to him on completion of the work.

The same family employed local Debaśarmās of Baghan for washing and cleaning jute. Here, the rate of payment depends on work done. For washing one *pan* or 80 bundles of jute, the labourer gets Rs.1.50, no tiffin or food being provided. During the summer, they work from 6 a.m. to 2 p.m. and by that time some of them can even wash three *pans* or 240 bundles of jute.

In another family, Nuniā labourers came for digging earth. They worked from morning till evening. They got 0.75 *paise* with light meals in the morning and two full meals, one at noon and another at night. Labourers went back to their residence at night.

The same family employed a Rājbaṅgśī labourer to work in their betel-garden. The contract was that the labourer would get Rs.2 for carrying a total of 200 bags of mud on a carrying pole. The payment might, however, vary if the conditions were not fulfilled.

So far as the landholding is concerned, none of the 11 families can be considered as affluent. They have a total of only 10·424 acres of land.

One family has a total of 12½ bighas, or 4·06 acres, of land and tops the list. In other families, they have much less land. One family is landless and lives by share-cropping and day labour. Families which have some land either use it for betel-gardens or, if the plot is not fit for growing betel, it is used for other crops. Rice is usually cultivated by the people themselves. Sometimes it may be worked by share-croppers. Some families were found who made their living as share-croppers for others. A number of specific cases are cited here. One family has taken 0·33 acre of agricultural land from a Sadgop farmer of Baghan. Another family has taken 0·16½ acre of land from a Debaśarmā of Baghan and yet another family has obtained a plot of 0·66 acre from a Sadgop of Kunarpur, located about a quarter of a mile west of Baghan. One family has given 1·65 acres, i.e. five bighas, of land for share-cropping to a different Bārujībī family of Baghan. Here it may be mentioned that the usual basis of agreement for share-cropping is half of the total produce.

Inter-relationship with Functional Caste and Others

All the 11 Barui families maintain a sort of fixed relationship with the Bihari (Paschima) barbers of Kaliyaganj. But in any case a particular BARBER is fixed for a particular household. What happens is that these BARBERS, viz. Paltan Thakur, Sital Thakur, Naten Thakur, Bishu Thakur, usually come at Baghan for serving their clients on market days. Markets are in the afternoon (at about 3 p.m.); so they spend the morning by serving families from one corner of the village to the other. For ordinary services, the BARBER gets 25 *paise* for a hair-cut and 10 *paise* for shaving. Hair-cut of children is done at a lower rate, at 12 *paise* per head. According to my informants, they also visit the Baghan bi-weekly market for the same purpose on occasions. They have to contact the BARBERS for ritual purification. But the above report should not make one feel that all the families have had the necessity for the special service of the BARBERS. But from few concrete cases we may learn about their traditional duties and payments as made to BARBERS for their services. In no case was the service of a BARBER woman traditionally fixed.

After childbirth, the Bārujībīs observe ritual pollution for 30 days. The first-shaving and nail-cutting of the new-born and the nail-cutting of the mother are, however, done within a period of the first five days. This ceremony is known as *panchti*.

On the 30th day after childbirth, the same performances are gone through and the pollution is over. In the family of Shri Suresh Chandra Das, a payment of Re.1 was made to a BARBER for his attendance on both the days. This occurred about five years ago. A similar case was reported by Shri Priyanath Dey-Sarkar. He described the system in a more elaborate way. In his family, the period of pollution is for 15 days. The custom is that the BARBER's services are necessary on the fifth day to pare the nails of the infant. On the seventh day, he comes to shave the head of the infant and simultaneously pares the nails of the mother. Again he comes on the 15th day and pares the nails of both. On the 16th day, the Brāhmaṇ comes to purify the mother and thus the pollution comes to an end. So far as the payment is concerned, the BARBER was paid a sum of Re.1 with a seer of rice for his performances on all the days together. The Brāhmaṇ who came in this occasion on the 16th day was given a payment of Re.1 and a seer of rice.

Bārujībīs observe 15 days of mourning when a death occurs. The BARBER renders his funerary services on the 15th day and the funerary

ceremony is held the next day on the 16th. During the funerary ceremony of Suresh Chandra Das's father, the BARBER was given Re.1 along with some articles of food. This was about five years ago. Cases of payments during marriage were not available.

Six families maintain a general market-relationship with the Dhoba (WASHERMAN) living at Kaliyaganj. The remaining five families have no relationship with them at all. Families maintaining a cash-relationship with WASHERMEN send their clothes to the laundry at Kaliyaganj. Payments are always made there in cash. Other families wash their own clothes. During childbirth, they do not need the services of a WASHERMAN for ritual purification. But it matters during funerary ceremony. One of our informants reported that due to poverty he had not been able to employ any WASHERMAN even on the occasion of his father's death.

At the time of childbirth seven families call for the services of a midwife to attend the mother and the baby. The caste of that woman was not exactly known to them. In one family, during the birth of a male child, Rs.2 and a seer of rice and vegetables were given to her as extra remuneration. Again, during the birth of a female child, a payment of only Re.1 together with other payments were made to her as before. Her duty is to clean the place of childbirth, clean the body of the new-born, and so on. She leaves as soon as her duties are over. The informant stated that the midwife throws away the dirty cloth worn by the mother during labour. The Bārujībī families never use that cloth any more. The midwife also refuses to use it. Four Bārujībī families do not require the traditional services of a midwife.

Some of the families, like that of Nilkamal Das, also send their women to the hospital at Kaliyaganj. They consider it cheaper and convenient as good treatment from qualified physicians can be had in case of necessity. It is interesting to note that in the family of Lakshmi Narayan Sarkar the midwife was employed for the first time. But according to Dhirendra Nath Ghose, a Sadgop, Lakshmi Babu is no more taking the service of the midwife as he had some quarrel with her before. So, on the last three occasions of childbirth, the subject himself has been cutting the umbilical cord of his wife. The informant also added that this practice is extremely derogatory and said in confidence that though he knew the fact, he was not going to disclose it to his co-villagers. For, if Debaśarmās, the numerically dominant caste of this village, learnt about this, they would certainly take strong disciplinary action against him. They would immediately boycott him and nobody would invite him to a feast.

Ten Bārujībī families maintain fixed relationship with Basanta Mālākār, a member of the Mālākār caste (GARLAND-MAKER). He comes from the village of Tungail-Bilpara, about a mile away. One family has no relationship with the said Mālākār at all. Generally, he sells pith-made materials for all. For example, in one family he supplies pith-made flowers for the worship of Manasā, the Goddess of Snakes, in the month of Śrāvaṇa (July-August); for worshipping the betel-garden in the *nabamī* of Āshāṛh and Agrahāyaṇa, garlands for decoration on the last day of Paush and during the *bijayā-daśamī* at the end of Durgāpūjā. On all such occasions, payments varying between Re.0.25 and Re.0.37 are made to him. Here it may be mentioned that the worship of the betel-garden is done by the members of the Bārujībī caste and no Brāhmaṇ is needed for that. It was reported by a different family that they worship the betel-garden in the month of Āswin (September-October) and Paush (December-January). On each of these occasions a payment of Re.0.12 is made to the Mālākār. Ordinarily

the Mālākār does not press for immediate payment and supplies articles to his customers on credit.

Ten families have fixed relationship with Brāhmaṇs of the Rāṛhīśreṇī and others do not require any service from them. Brāhmaṇs like Anil Chowdhury, Lalmohan Chakravarty of Baghan, Upendra Kishore Roy of Tungail-Bilpara, Makhan Bhattacharyay of Chirail and Aditya Chowdhury of Kaliyaganj have fixed clientele or *jajmānī* relationship with them. It was observed that the Bārujībīs are most intimately associated with Aditya Chowdhury who serves more than half of the Bārujībī families of Baghan.

Some of the families had religious preceptors in their original homes in East Pakistan. But after coming here, most of them have lost connexion with the latter. In case the preceptors have also migrated to West Bengal, they have been maintaining their old relationship with their disciples. Thus the family of Bijoy Krishna Sarkar is visited by their Brāhmaṇ preceptor during marriage, funerary ceremony, and so on. About three years ago, the preceptor and his wife came from Balurghat to attend a marriage ceremony, and a payment of Rs.10 with a *dhoti* and a *śaṛī* plus Rs.10 as travelling allowance was made to them. The Brāhmaṇ who worked as priest came from Chirail, and a payment of Rs.5 and six seers of rice was made to him.

So far as the rate of payment for worship of household deities is concerned, one family reported a payment of Re.1 with half seer of rice and a napkin to Anil Chowdhury, a Rāṛhīśreṇī Brāhmaṇ priest. It was the occasion of worshipping the Goddess Lakshmī in his family. In another family, the Goddess Lakshmī is worshipped by the women daily. But for worshipping the Snake-Goddess Manasā, a payment of Re.1 with one seer of rice, one napkin plus fruits and rice offered to the deity was made to the Brāhmaṇ priest named Upendra Roy.

In the family of Bijoy Krishna Sarkar, Lakshmī is worshipped by the ladies. But Satyanārāyaṇ, Manasā and Śani are worshipped by different Brāhmaṇs as available on the occasion. According to the informant, on such occasions he pays Re.1 with a seer of rice and a napkin to the attending priest. The Bārujībī families also pay subscriptions for the worship of village goddesses, Kālī and Durgā. Some of the families admitted that they have made vows to Kālī, but no offerings have yet been made to that deity.

Ten Bārui families maintain market-relationship with the Muchi (LEATHER-WORKERS) of Kaliyaganj. One family does not need the service of any LEATHER-WORKER at all. No family has got a fixed cobbler. The repair of shoes is either done by these cobblers or at the market at Kaliyaganj. Rubber shoes are sometimes available in the bi-weekly market at Baghan. But for the purchase of leather-made footwear, they visit shops at Kaliyaganj. One family, however, reported the purchase of a new pair of shoes about six years ago.

All the 11 families have market-relationship with Kumbhakār (POTTERS) who regularly attend the bi-weekly market at Baghan. Sometimes they purchase earthenware from the weekly market at Dhankol about five miles away. But most of the families maintain a sort of fixed relationship with a POTTER named Baidya Pal, of the village of Kunore. Articles are available from him either on cash or on credit. Items which do not satisfy one's taste or likings can be returned on the next market-day.

Iron implements are purchased either from the weekly market at Dhankol or from peddlers who come to Baghan. The names and caste of the shopkeepers are not known to them. But their nature of work makes one believe that they are the Karmakārs or BLACKSMITH (?). They sell or repair old implements on cash payment.

Only a single family keeps fixed relationship with a member of the Hāṛi (BASKET-MAKERS) of Tilgaon. The other 10 families have only market-relationship with the BASKET-MAKERS of Baghan. The family which maintains fixed relationship provides raw materials for basketry, i.e. bamboo, and gets basketry from the BASKET-MAKER according to an agreed price.

Cane-baskets are available from the Dhankol market. The sellers are Bhuinmāli by caste. The weekly market at Dhankol was surveyed on 17th December, 1962. At that time, many interesting things were noticed. For example, sellers of bamboo-baskets claimed to belong to the caste of Hāṛi-Baiśya; some claimed that they were Bhuinmāli although it is known that they were Hāṛis, who are lower than Bhuinmālis or sellers of cane-baskets.

Three families have fixed relationship with the Sūtradhar (CARPENTER). In the case of two families, their CARPENTER, Ramesh Sūtradhar, comes from the village Kunore. The family of Priyanath Dey-Sarkar maintains relationship with Suresh Mohanta, a Vaishnaba, engaged in carpentry. He lives at Kunarpur which is about a quarter mile west of Baghan. The other seven families do not require a carpenter's service.

Three families maintain fixed relationship with the Śankhakār (CONCH-SHELL-WORKER). The other seven families have only market-relationship with them. One family does not need their services at all. In one family, the Śankhakār came from Kaliyaganj and a payment of Rs.2.50 was made to him for a pair of bangles. Two families reported that their Śankhakār, Basanta (surname unknown), came from Kaliyaganj.

For milk-products, two families maintain a more or less fixed relationship with the Goālā (MILKMEN) of Kaliyaganj. The MILKMAN supplies milk on cash or credit. The other nine families cannot afford to buy milk; some families have their own cattle for milk.

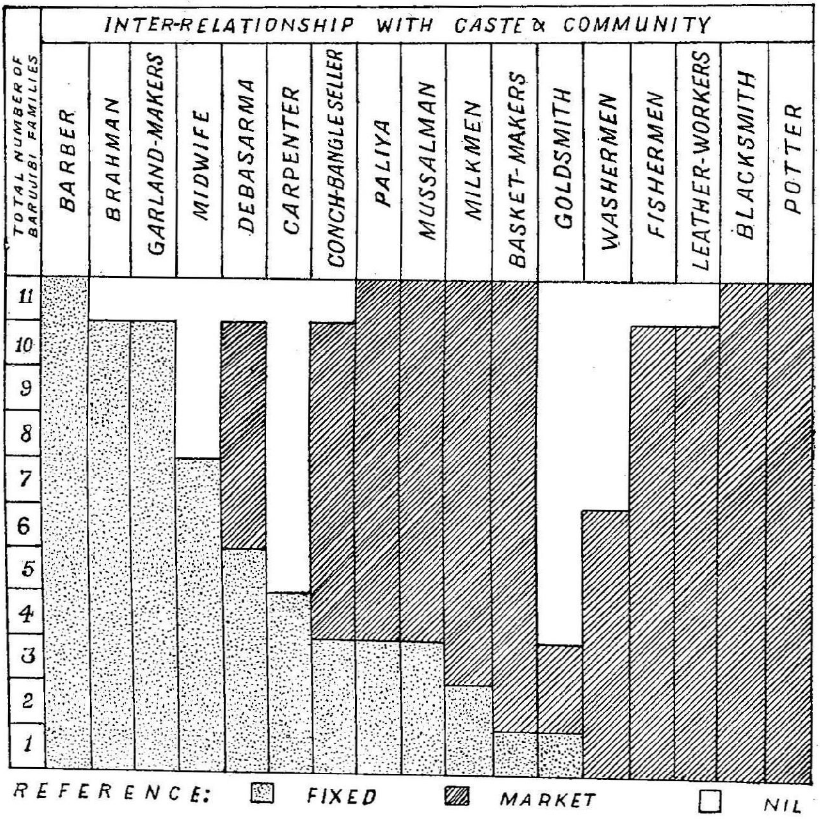
Five Bārujībī families maintain fixed relationship with the Debaśarmās; five families have market-relationship and one family maintains no relationship with them at all. Traditionally, the Debaśarmās are expert in preparing flattened rice, i.e. *chiṛā*, and their women sell eggs and milk. The Bārujībīs either go to their home or have their requirements from the market at Baghan. The cost of a seer of flattened rice is 72 *paise*.

Three families have fixed relationship with the village Muslims. The other eight families have no ties with them. The Bārujībī families barter betel-leaves with the Muslims for paddy. For example, in one family they have fixed relationship with Katinal Mohammad of Tilgaon and Orip Pradhan of Harinarayanpur. Katinal Mohammad gives annually three maunds of paddy and Upendra Nath Das, a Bārujībī, supplies monthly 600–800 betel-leaves to him in exchange. Again, Orip Pradhan gives him four maunds of paddy annually and in return he gets a regular supply of 800 betel-leaves per month. Thus the family of Priyanath Dey-Sarkar has fixed relationship for betel-leaves with two Muslim families of Tilgaon. On each market-day, the subject gives a hundred betel-leaves to each of those individuals. Each of them had advanced two maunds of paddy to him during the previous year. This system is known as *uthna* or *bandobasta*.

Three Bārujībī families have fixed relationship with the Paliya or the Barman (OIL-PRESSERS). On the other hand, two families have market or cash relationship with them. The remaining six families have no relationship with the OIL-PRESSERS at all. Families having fixed relationship purchase oil from a Barman of Tungail-Bilpara, a neighbouring village. They come to sell oil in the bi-weekly market of Baghan. Families who cannot afford to purchase oil from the OIL-PRESSERS purchase mill-made mustard oil from shops in the market. In one family, they purchase oil from Upen Saha, a member of the Teli (OIL-PRESSER) caste of Kaliyaganj.

As regards purchase or repairs of ornaments, one family has relationship with a Kāyastha engaged in goldsmithy in Kaliyaganj. Two other families have just market-relationship with the GOLDSMITHS of Kaliyaganj. The remaining eight families have not employed any GOLDSMITH for making or repairing an ornament in the recent past.

None of the 11 families has fixed relationship with the Jāliā-Kaibarttas (FISHERMEN). Ten families maintain market-relationship and one family does not purchase fish at all. In the market, castes like Bin and Turis also come to sell fish from Kaliyaganj. Purchase is always made by cash.



DISCUSSION

In this paper I have attempted to study a number of Bārujībī families in a West Dinajpur village. It has been my purpose to examine their socio-economic inter-relations and more particularly to see how they have tried to adjust these relations after their migration from East Bengal.

For a clear understanding of the nature of caste relationship, I have used certain code terms to evaluate the nature of relationship with castes engaged in various occupations. A close examination of the study, however, helps us to classify the network of relationships under two broad headings, viz. *Fixed* and *Market*.

When a particular family maintains relationship with the family of a fixed ritual servant or artisans and payments are made in cash, kind or in both, such cases can aptly be placed in the first category. Besides the fixed relationship, many of the necessities of village life are procured through the weekly or bi-weekly markets. A family is tied by close contact with a number of sellers who regularly come to the market and thus a sort of market-relationship is established. Similarly, hawkers and peddlers also go round villages to sell a variety of articles. Regular visits and dealings improve friendship. Like the market, here also the transactions are made in cash and the nature of relationship is comparable to *market*-relationship. However, this type of relationship has nothing to do with caste inter-relationship.

From the material presented, it is evident that the socio-religious aspects of the caste inter-relationships are directly involved with certain functional castes, whereas the economic aspect of caste relationship is more elaborate and binds together different castes having different traditional callings. So far as the service relations are concerned, the demands for services find constant supply offered by different castes. Among themselves a caste also maintains service relations through mutual labour exchange and interdependence. This is also acknowledged and reciprocated by the families involved.

It was observed that the position of a particular caste in the hierarchy is determined first by its own concept about itself and standards of ritual performances and, secondly, by what others think about it. Again, this estimation by others is somewhat dependent upon the class and status of the Brāhmaṇ priests and other functional castes who serve that particular caste.

Journal of the Asiatic Society.
Vol. VIII, No. 1, 1966.

TERRACOTTA SEALS AND SEALINGS FROM RĀJBĀḌĪDĀṄGĀ EXCAVATIONS DURING 1961-62

By S. R. Das

(*Received September 12, 1966*)

	Page
Introduction	29
Making	29
Types	30
Sizes	31
Impressions	32
Contents	32
(*a*) Symbols and Inscriptions	32
(*b*) Symbols or Devices	34
Legends	35
Sequences and Dating	39
Purpose	42
Summary	44
Acknowledgements	45
Explanation of Plates	45

Introduction

In course of excavations at Rājbāḍīdāṅgā (Village: Jadupur near Chiruti Railway Station, District Murśidābād, six miles south-west from Berhampore, West Bengal, on the western side of the Bhāgīrathī; longitude: 24° 1′ 44″ N; latitude: 88° 11′ 04″ E), conducted during 1961-62 by the Department of Archaeology of the University of Calcutta, many terracotta-inscribed seals and sealings, complete, incomplete and fragmentary, were recovered from most of the excavated trenches. The total number of seals and sealings retrieved in 1962 are more than 98, of which only 41 selected specimens bearing legible or traceable inscriptions and devices are dealt with here for an analysis and discussion. The seals and sealings are mostly fragile and fragmentary. Of the two seals, the letters of one are obliterated; the other is a fragmentary piece containing Greek letters. The discovery of a large number of incomplete and waste sealings during the present and subsequent seasons' excavations tends to suggest that Rājbāḍīdāṅgā might have been a great seal-manufacturing centre.

Making

The seals and sealings were all made of clay-paste. After the desired shape was given to a lump of clay, the seal-stamp was impressed upon it with a little force, when the clay-lump was held between fingers or on the palm. This process of making is indicated by finger and palm impressions noticeable on obverse and reverse surfaces of most of the specimens. In certain instances, the desired shape has been also considerably disturbed or deformed by the pressure of fingers. On a large number of specimens, again, sparkling fine tiny mica particles can be noticed. Mica-dust was not, however, externally applied to give a sparkling quality. Fine mica particles are also noticeable in sections of fragmentary sealings. This proves that micaceous, not mica-tempered, clay-paste was used for making

these sealings. This is also confirmed by innumerable pottery specimens containing fine mica particles.

The stamped wet sealings were then sun-dried and baked, perhaps in a special fire-pit. But the majority of the sealings are ill-burnt and fragile. The sealings are so delicate and frail that they are easily subjected to wearing out and breakage. It seems that no particular care was taken in making and baking the sealings. Most of the specimens have a rough surface without any indication of slip-application. Again, the majority of the sealings have a reverse surface that is considerably rough and disordered in appearance. Rough and uneven groove channels or depressions or simple deep grooves characterize the reverse surface of many specimens. The reverse surface of sealing No. 1 bears two uneven holes at the top, one horizontal deep channel-depression and one deep sharp channel-cut at the bottom. On the reverse surface of some other sealings there are simple horizontal raised cut-lines or reed-impressions. Some, again, give an indication of rough wood-impressions (No. 26). It appears that the wet sealings were also placed on wood-pieces for sun-baking. Such impressions might have been also caused during burning with wood-pieces. The reverse of sealing No. 19 has a well-cut small deep hole or cavity at its top, perhaps for fixation. A few specimens, mostly roundish, elongated and small flat discs, have an even reverse surface, possibly smoothened by rubbing with fingers. The obverse surface of most sealings is, however, evenly spread and smooth. The specimen No. 40 bearing the representation of a cow(?) and her calf below has a polished obverse surface. The obverse surface of some other sealings has been also made even or smooth by fingers. This is amply indicated by finger impressions on many sealings.

Any distinct indication of slip-application is absent. In a few instances, a thin dark slip of ash or charcoal-powder diluted in water might have been applied before stamping, perhaps, to make the impression more prominent and legible. On specimen No. 22 this kind of slip-application has withered out, thereby making the impression dim and faint. The colour of the sealings varies from grey to dark or from pale terracotta to bright terracotta. In most cases dark colour has been due to contact with fire. The sealings with terracotta colour are mostly well burnt. Certain specimens, again, have an obverse surface bearing partly or wholly darkish colour and the reverse, terracotta colour.

Waste products are indeed numerous. Some specimens do not contain even any evidence of stamping or seal-impression. Yet, their shapes and forms give clear indication that they were meant for stamping, but for certain reasons they were discarded or left out. Perhaps, the desired shape or form was not found suitable for stamping. In certain cases, the impressed surface was disrupted or distorted during the process of 'firing'. Most surprisingly enough, such waste products, with or without inscriptions, were also burnt along with the perfect or finished products. This shows that no careful selection of the stamped sealings was made before firing. It is likely that the selection was made after the baking had been over. Again, such waste products were also recovered in association with the finished or perfect sealings in pit depositions. Innumerable waste and incomplete sealings certainly bear witness to their local manufacture.

Types

The original shape in most specimens appears to have been considerably disturbed during the process of stamping or baking. The shapes of the fragmentary sealings could not be correctly ascertained. Broadly speaking,

the terracotta seals and sealings may be divided into seven types according to their shapes and forms: (i) small flat discs, (ii) oval, (iii) round or roundish, (iv) roundish square, (v) elongated, (vi) conical and (vii) irregular or indeterminate.

(i) *Small flat discs.*—There are altogether ten small flat disc sealings, of which four bear motifs and six inscriptions only (Nos. 30–39). All the sealings are well burnt and complete.

(ii) *Oval.*—Of five oval or roughly oval-shaped sealings (Nos. 1, 20, 20*a*, 21, 24 and 40), one is uninscribed. These sealings are also all well burnt. The specimen No. 20 (20*a*) is a fragmentary sealing but inscriptions inside three impressions are extant. Of these oval sealings, the specimen No. 1 bearing *Dharmachakra*-deer symbol above and two lines of inscription below is a significant discovery of this season's excavation. It is complete and well burnt. The sealing No. 24 containing the *Dharmachakra*-deer motif recovered from the lower level of the seal-yielding layers is a fragmentary one. The uninscribed fragmentary sealing No. 40 bears a wonderful representation of a cow(?) and her calf.

(iii) *Round or roundish.*—There are 10 round or roundish wellburnt sealings (Nos. 2–10 and 41) and one seal. Excepting sealing No. 8 all other roundish specimens were recovered from one particular layer at an average depth of 8′ 4″ below surface. The discovery of a roundish and wellburnt fragmentary seal bearing incised Greek letters is indeed a unique find during the present season's excavation (Nos. 2 and 2*a*).

(iv) *Roundish square.*—Only one roundish square sealing was recovered (No. 12).

(v) *Elongated.*—Two elongated specimens (Nos. 22 and 23) with inscription inside a groove-channel on each were recovered from the upper levels of the seal-producing layers.

(vi) *Conical.*—Only one conical seal with circular stamping base-surface was found (No. 25). The letters on the stamping surface are all obliterated.

(vii) *Irregular* or *indeterminate.*—There are altogether 12 sealings of irregular or indeterminate shapes (Nos. 11, 13–19 and 26–29). In this category are included mostly the fragmentary sealings, the shapes of which are indeterminate and also those whose original shapes have been distorted due to the pressure of fingers at the time of stamping or during baking. Again, all these irregular sealings excepting No. 11 were recovered from identical layers and depths.

Sizes

Like the shapes the sizes of the sealings also differ considerably. On the consideration of the different sizes of the complete specimens three categories can be recognized—tiny or small, medium and large. Of the complete oval type sealings, the largest one measures 4·8 cm. × 4·2 cm. (No. 1), and the sealing No. 21 is a medium-sized one measuring 2·1 cm. × 1·8 cm. The roundish square type sealing No. 12 measures 1·9 cm. × 1·8 cm. Amongst the small disc specimens bearing either inscriptions or motifs the shortest and largest diameters are 2·00 cm. and 2·9 cm. (Nos. 30, 31, 33 and 36). Diameters of all other specimens fall between 2·1 cm. and 2·4 cm. The complete round or roundish specimens have varying diameters from 1·7 cm. to 2·1 cm. (Nos. 8 and 10). Other complete sealings which are roughly roundish differ in sizes from 1·5 cm. × 1·3 cm. to 2·1 cm. × 2·00 cm. (Nos. 3, 5 and 9). The complete irregular sealings measure 1·6 cm. × 1·4 cm. (No. 16) and 1·7 cm. × 1·5 cm. (No. 13). Two fragmentary specimens with *Dharmachakra*-deer motif (Nos. 24 and 28) appear to have been originally large-sized oval

sealings. Complete elongated specimens (Nos. 22 and 23) measure 2·1 cm. × 1·7 cm. and 2·4 cm. × 1·4 cm. The length of one complete conical stamp-seal (No. 25) is 3·1 cm. The roundish fragmentary seal bearing Greek letters measures 2·00 cm. × 1·8 cm. (No. 2).

Impressions

There are single or double or triple stamp-impressions on a sealing. Such impressions are of different sizes and forms: circular, oval, oblong, square, horizontal groove channel or channel-cut, rhomboid and round or circular groove. The size of the impressed area is primarily dependent on the sizes and shapes of the sealings. The most common form of impression is circular. There are no less than 20 specimens of different shapes and sizes with circular impressions. The flat disc sealings with or without inscriptions bear invariably circular impressions. The circular impressions on flat discs with motifs only contain clear borderlines (Nos. 36–39) and the diameters of the impressed areas vary from 1·4 cm. to 1·9 cm. Other flat discs with inscriptions have circular impressions with the diameters of the impressed areas varying from 1·2 cm. to 1·9 cm. There are three sealings with identical diameters of the impressed areas of 1·8 cm. The diameters of circular impressions on others (Nos. 3, 4, 6, 7, 10, 13, 15, 17 and 25) vary from 0·9 cm. to 2·9 cm. There are at least five sealings with identical diameters of the circular impressed areas: 1·1 cm. (Nos. 3 and 10), 1·2 cm. (Nos. 3(*a*) and 13) and 1·3 cm. (Nos. 4 and 6). The sealing No. 19 though irregular in shape caused by the pressure of fingers has a complete circular impressed area having a diameter of 1·00 cm.

Of the sealings with oval impressions, the specimen No. 26 contains two impressions. There are both deep and shallow oval impressions, and the measurements of the impressed areas differ from 3·1 cm. × 2·8 cm. to 1·3 cm. × 1·00 cm. The oval-impressed area of sealing No. 1 measures 3·1 cm. × 2·8 cm. There are two sealings with oblong impressions (Nos. 12 and 20), and the impressed areas measure 1·4 cm. × 0·7 cm. and 1·5 cm. × 0·5 cm. Besides one square-impressed area of 1·3 cm. × 1·3 cm., the specimen No. 27 bears, perhaps, another circular impression on the left. The horizontal groove channels or narrow channel-cut impressions are noticeable on sealings Nos. 20(*a*), 22 and 23. On sealings Nos. 22 and 23 the groove channel areas measure 1·8 cm. × 0·7 cm. and 2·00 cm. × 0·6 cm., and on sealing No. 28(*a*) the narrow channel-cut impression measures 1·7 cm × 0·4 cm. Two sealings, Nos. 8 and 11, have rhomboid-impressed areas (1·00 cm.). The impressed area of specimen No. 11 comprises borderlines meeting at corners, but No. 8 bears systematically arranged border dots-decoration. Sealings bearing double impressions are Nos. 3, 15, 26 and 27. Triple impressions are extant only on specimen No. 20 (20*a*) which bears two oblong and one narrow channel-cut impressions. But the majority of the sealings contain single impression each.

Contents

The contents of the sealings and seals may be discussed under two heads: (*a*) symbols and inscriptions; (*b*) symbols or devices only.

(*a*) *Symbols and Inscriptions*

There are about 17 sealings bearing both devices and legends. On all specimens with motifs and inscriptions the symbols are to be invariably found on the upper register of the sealing upon one or two or three rows of

horizontal lines in succession and one or two or three lines of inscriptions on the lower register. In certain instances the motif is also extant upon tiered pedestal consisting of horizontal lines. No less than seven different kinds of motifs or devices can be recognized: flower (lotus), plant, cattle head (buffalo ?), deer, bird, *Dharmachakra*-deer and indeterminate.

(i) The sealings with a *floral motif* on each are three in number. In each case the motif is to be found on one or two horizontal lines and below, one line inscription. The floral motif in all specimens is the conventionalized form of lotus (*Nelumbium* specimen). The lotus-petals of No. 13 consist of six slightly extended knobs or studs from a central one above one horizontal line, but those of No. 18 have been indicated by six simple dots with one in the centre as its thalamus. On specimen No. 15 the flower device comprises three small vertical lines upon one horizontal line and below, one line inscription. Of the two impressions with a floral motif on each, the one on right is complete, but the one on left-hand side is broken excepting the floral device and last two letters of the inscription. The lotus symbol on specimen No. 7 comprises conventional loop designs on two horizontal lines.

(ii) Three small sealings bear *plant motifs* (Nos. 5, 16 and 19). In all specimens the tiny plant has been beautifully executed on one horizontal line. The plant is a conventionalized form of palm-tree (*Phaenixsylvestris*) and its execution in all the three specimens is identical, consisting of a vertical stem with a triangular border base and three bending terminal tuft of leaves on its both sides (No. 5).

(iii) There is only one complete sealing with *cattle-head device* on one horizontal line and below, one line inscription (No. 11). The horns are upright and slightly curved at the pointed ends.

(iv) Only one round sealing contains *deer motif* (No. 3). The sealing bears two circular impressions, on each of which the device consists of two small deer facing each other above two horizontal lines.

(v) A small round sealing (No. 4) bears, plausibly, a *bird motif*. On right, the tiny bird symbol is extant but the one on left is indistinct. It seems that the bird on right faces to left another motif, perhaps a bird. Both the figures are above one horizontal line. The sealing No. 6 also, plausibly, bears a bird symbol upon one horizontal line.

(vi) Certain specimens contain symbols which could not be recognized. The impression on No. 10 is indistinct and only two lines of inscription are extant on its lower register. But the specimen No. 27 bears a square impression with a motif on its upper register. The motif may be traced to have been formed with two studs, one above the other. From each stud two lines may be traced to have slightly extended horizontally from its both right and left sides. It has not been possible to recognize the symbol.

(vii) But the sealings containing the symbol of *Dharmachakra* flanked by two deer are indeed the most outstanding discovery during the first season's excavation at the site. There are four sealings (perhaps five) with *Dharmachakra*-deer motif (Nos. 1, 14, 24, 29 and 28). Of these sealings, Nos. 14, 24 and 28 are fragmentary. The specimen No. 28 bears on its upper part a small *Dharmachakra* on a pedestal consisting of three horizontal lines. The *chakra* comprises one central dot as the nave with eight spokes radiating from it to the rim. The *chakra* is also flanked by two deer, the one on left is extant just below the wheel and the other on right is partly broken. Below the tiered pedestal one line of inscription can be traced. The specimen No. 29 is also a fragmentary sealing and its impression is dim and indistinct. It appears that the upper register might

have also contained an oval *Dharmachakra* flanked by two deer. The deer on left is faintly traceable and two horizontal lines are extant. Another similar fragmentary sealing is No. 14, on which also the deer on left above one horizontal line is faintly traceable. But the representation on the fragmentary sealing No. 24 consisting of an oval *Dharmachakra* with dots decoration is distinct. The *chakra* appears to have been, as usual, flanked by two deer, but only the deer on right is faintly traceable. Of the sealings containing the *Dharmachakra*-deer motif, the complete specimen No. 1 is in perfect condition. The upper register of the oval impressed area bears an oval *Dharmachakra* on a tiered pedestal consisting of one small and two long horizontal lines from edge to edge of the impressed area. The oval *Dharmachakra* measures 0·7 cm.×0·6 cm. One central dot (indistinct) forms the nave and the spokes radiate from it up to its rim which is blurred. Only four or five spokes can be traced. The *Dharmachakra* is flanked by two small lively deer in kneeling position above two horizontal lines with raised necks directed to the top of the *chakra*. Below the tiered pedestal there are two lines of inscription.

Similar terracotta inscribed sealings with analogous symbol were also discovered from Pāhāḍpur, Nālandā and in recent years from Ratnagiri. The Pāhāḍpur type contains the usual *Dharmachakra* on a tiered pedestal of three horizontal lines, flanked by two deer. But the *chakra* consists of a circle with a stud inside as its nave and four traceable spokes radiating from the nave up to its rim. The device on the Nālandā sealings is also identical, but the spokes of the *chakra* have been indicated by dots all along the border of the circle. Besides, below the symbol there is only one horizontal line of dots extending from edge to edge of the impressed area. The Nālandā specimen is finer and more sophisticated than other analogous sealings. On one of the four Ratnagiri sealings the *chakra* consists of two circles with the nave and the spokes inside the inner one, and the tiered pedestal is absent. The second specimen bears a circular *chakra* with radiating spokes inside and the pedestal is missing. But on another specimen the *chakra* is represented on a tiered pedestal as on Pāhāḍpur and Rājbāḍīḍāṅgā sealings. On the lower register of each of the four specimens there are two lines of inscription and below, ornamental devices consisting of horizontal lines, which are absent on similar other sealings from Nālandā, Pāhāḍpur and Rājbāḍīḍāṅgā. Similar *Dharmachakra* motif flanked by two deer is also to be found on the seals affixed to the Pāla copper-plates.

(*b*) *Symbols or Devices*

Besides these sealings bearing both symbols and inscriptions, there are five specimens containing motifs only. These include four complete small flat discs and one fragmentary oval sealing (Nos. 36–39 and 40). Each of the discs containing a circular impression with clear borderline bears conventional eight-petalled lotus symbol (Nos. 36–39). On each specimen the floral motif consists of alternate groupings of four blossomed and budding petals from the circular *androecium*. The petalling on the sealings, Nos. 37 and 38, is identical, but the petalling on No. 36 is different. The sealing No. 39, however, bears the device of a budding lotus with two petals on both sides of the peduncle. But the most interesting specimen is the fragmentary sealing No. 40. Originally, the specimen was oval in shape with an oval impression. Its portion on right is broken. It bears a beautiful representation of a cow (?) standing with its upright horns and its calf below engaged in sucking milk. The cattle is seen standing in a posture as if engaged in chewing leaves of a realistically presented plant on left. From the aesthetic point of view the representation is superb.

Thus the symbols on sealings comprise conventional floral (lotus) and palm-tree, cattle head, bird, deer, cattle and calf and the *Dharmachakra* flanked by two deer. Most of these devices speak of their relation with the Buddha and Buddhism. In fact, *Dharmachakra*-deer motif symbolizes the Buddha's preaching of the first sermon at *Mṛgadāva* (Sārnāth).

LEGENDS

On the strength of the inscriptions four categories of sealings and seals may be recognized: (I) Monastery sealings with *Dharmachakra*-deer symbol above and two or more lines of inscription below, bearing the name of *Raktamṛttikā-vihāra*; (II) Buddhist formula bearing sealings; (III) Personal sealings containing the legends of individual names in one or more impressions on each; (IV) One round fragmentary seal containing a legend in Greek letters. Language of the inscriptions is either *Prākṛt* or Sanskrit written in characters belonging to *c*. fifth to ninth-tenth century A.D. The legends on the sealings illustrated here have been read by Professor D. C. Sircar and Dr. B. N. Mukherji.

(I) At least four sealings bearing the *Dharmachakra*-deer symbol above one or more lines of inscription below are the most significant finds of this season's excavation. Of the four sealings (Nos. 1, 14, 24 and 28), three are fragmentary, and the specimen No. 1 only is in perfect condition. This sealing bears the *Dharmachakra*-deer symbol on its upper register and two lines of inscription on the lower part. The legend on the sealing has been read by Professor D. C. Sircar:

L 1. *Śrī-Raktamṛttikā-mahāvaihā-*
L 2. *rik-ārya-bhikshu-saṅghasy* (II*)

[This is the seal] of the community of the noble monks of the great monastery at the illustrious *Raktamṛttikā*.

The fragmentary sealing No. 14 bears three lines of inscription on the lower register below the tiered pedestal. The upper register containing the *Dharmachakra*-deer motif is broken. The legend on this sealing has been read by Dr. B. N. Mukherji:

L 1. *Raktamṛtti*(*kāyāṁ**)
L 2. (*vi*)*hār*(*e*) (*Ārya*)
L 3. *bhikshu*(*saṅghasya* ?)

The lower part of sealing No. 28 is broken and its upper register as usual bears the *Dharmachakra*-deer motif on the tiered pedestal, below which, the upper part of the first line of the inscription is only extant. A few letters are traceable and the legend has been read as *Koṇḍhika*(*s*)*ya* or (*Gondhikasya* ?). That it is a monastery sealing is clearly indicated by the motif, but the legend of the first line refers, perhaps, to an individual name. The third fragmentary monastery sealing is No. 24. Its lower part bearing the inscription is broken, and the partly extant upper part contains an oval *chakra* with dots-decoration, perhaps, flanked by two deer, and the one on right is faintly traceable. That the specimen is a monastery sealing is borne out by its symbol.

Similar sealings with *Dharmachakra*-deer motif on the upper register and the legend on the lower containing the names of the Buddhist monasteries have been also recovered from Pāhāḍpur, Nālandā, Ratnagiri, etc. The specimen from Pāhāḍpur bears the legend:

L 1. *Śrī-Somapurī*
L 2. *Śrī-Dharmapāla-deva-*
L 3. *Mahā-vihārīy-ārya-bhikshu-saṅghasya*

(. . . issued by the community of the venerable monks belonging to the great *Vihāra* of Somapura founded by Dharmapāla). The Nālandā monastery official sealings also bear *Dharmachakra*-deer motif and legend in three lines: *Śrī Nālandā-mahāvihāriy-ārya-bhikshu-saṅghasya*, i.e. of the community of the venerable monks of the great monastery at Nālandā. In recent years several specimens of such sealings have been also recovered from Ratnagiri (Orissa). Four specimens bear identical motif and legend in two lines on each: *Śrī Ratnagiri-mahāvihārīy-ārya-bhikshu-saṅghasya.* Excepting the name of the monastery the legend on the sealings from Pāhāḍpur, Nālandā and Ratnagiri is identical with the one on Rājbāḍīdāṅgā specimens.

On the basis of the legend on the monastery sealings recovered from Rājbāḍīdāṅgā it has been now possible to locate exactly the hitherto unknown present geographical position of the illustrious *Raktamṛttikā-vihāra* which was visited by the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsang, in the seventh century A.D. The name *Raktamṛttikā* also occurs in a fragmentary slate stone inscription from Malay Peninsula (Northern district, Wellesley Province) discovered in 1834. Just in the middle of the stone plate is found a beautifully carved Buddhist *stūpa*, and on its both sides there are lines of inscription. First is the Buddhist *sūtra*: *ajñānāc = cīyate karmma janmanaḥ karmma kāraṇa* [*m*]; *jñānān = na cīyate* [*karmma karmmābhāvān = na jāyate*]. On the right the legend is: *mahānāvikabuddhaguptasya rakta-mṛttika vās* [*tavyasya*] and on the left: *sarvveṇa prakāreṇa sarvvasmin sarvvathā sa* (*r*) *vva . . . siddhayāt* [*r*] *ā* [*ḥ*]+[:] *santu.*

The Buddhist *sūtra* inscribed above, perhaps, bears a magical import and the legends on its both sides give clear indication that the navigator Buddhagupta, a native of Raktamṛttikā, had the blessings of the Buddhist *saṅgha* for his safe journey and success.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit written in *Brāhmī* of the southern variety of the Pallava style. On palaeographical grounds Kern ascribed this inscription to A.D. 400. It is clear from the inscription that the great navigator Buddhagupta was a native of Raktamṛttikā and went to Malaya, perhaps from his native place. Kern identified this *Raktamṛttikā* with a place in Malay Peninsula (*Chi'h-tu*, i.e. red earth in Siam). This is hardly possible because the names, Buddhagupta and his native place, *Raktamṛttikā*, are both Indian. Besides, the practice of carrying or dedicating such objects containing magical charms is chiefly Indian. Accordingly, *Raktamṛttikā* of the inscription is to be located somewhere in the eastern parts of India. Some think that *Raktamṛttikā* rendered as *Rāṅgāmāṭi* is to be identified with a place of the same name in Bengal. But there are many places even in Bengal bearing the name *Rāṅgāmāṭi* in the districts of Chittagong and Murśidābād and also in North Bengal and in Assam.

In the seventh century A.D. the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsang, visited the illustrious *Lo-to-wei-chi-sang-kia-lam* (or *Ki-to-mo-chi*) rendered as *Raktamṛttikā-Saṅghārāma.* There is a detailed record of this monastery in the accounts of the Chinese pilgrim. It is quite reasonable to suppose that *Raktamṛttikā* of Hiuen Tsang's accounts is the same Raktamṛttikā, the native place of the great navigator Buddhagupta, mentioned in the inscription from Malay Peninsula. Further, the Chinese pilgrim has clearly stated in his accounts that *Raktamṛttikā* monastery stood in the neighbourhood of Karṇasuvarṇa, the capital city of the Gauḍa kingdom in the seventh century A.D.

But the identification of *Raktamṛttikā* of the Malayan inscription and *Raktamṛttikā-mahāvihāra* described in the Chinese pilgrim's accounts and

also of Karṇasuvarṇa, the famous capital city of the Gauḍa king, Śaśāṅka, has been a matter of controversy amongst the archaeologists and historians from the middle of the nineteenth century. Various sites in the districts of Singhbhum, Manbhum, Burdwan, Birbhum, Malda and Murśidābād of Bihar and Bengal have been suggested, but none could produce any unimpeachable archaeological evidence in support of any identification. Therefore, the discovery of sealings bearing the name of *Raktamṛttikā-mahāvihāra* during the excavation under report is of great historical significance. The sealing in question was issued by the community of the noble monks of the great *Raktamṛttikā* monastery (several sealings bearing the name of *Raktamṛttikā-mahāvihāra* were also recovered during subsequent excavations at the site). On the basis of the legend on such sealings it is now possible to identify exactly the illustrious *Raktamṛttikā-vihāra* of Hiuen Tsang's accounts and *Raktamṛttikā* of Malayan inscription with the excavated site at Rājbāḍīdāṅgā. This identification is also supported by other archaeological evidences including structural remains and other finds. In this connection it may be mentioned that a village of the name of Rāṅgāmāṭi is still extant near Rājbāḍīdāṅgā. In fact, the earth of the high cliffs on the bed of the neighbouring river, Bhāgīrathī, is characterized by red colour, and even today the local villagers use this red earth for painting their mud walls. It is still more significant that the excavations unearthed structural remains covered with *surki*-ramming and lime-plaster coated with red paint. This red-coating appears to have been applied by a thick red liquid made of red earth diluted in water. Accordingly, one may venture to presume that the Buddhist monastery, the remains of which were exposed during excavations, was named *Raktamṛttikā* after the local red earth and also because of the very fact that its structures were coated with red paint. It is now clear that the great navigator Buddhagupta, an inhabitant of Raktamṛttikā, went to Malaya with the blessings of the *Bhikshu-saṅgha*, perhaps of the *Raktamṛttikā* monastery, and as a grateful token of his safe journey he might have dedicated the stela on reaching Malaya. Further, on the strength of the identification of the *Raktamṛttikā-vihāra* with Rājbāḍīdāṇgā, Karṇasuvarṇa, the capital city of the Gauḍa kingdom in the seventh century A.D., can now be located with greater exactitude in the neighbourhood of the excavated site of Rājbāḍīdāṅgā.

(II) There are altogether six small disc-sealings (Nos. 30–35) and one deformed roundish sealing (No. 9) containing the sacred Buddhist formula. Each small disc bears four lines of inscription, and letters in most specimens are worn out. From a few letters that are legible it is clear that the legend on six sealings and inside the deep oval impression of the specimen No. 9 comprises the Sanskrit version of the sacred Buddhist *sūtra* consisting of the saying of *Sthavira* Aśvajit, the foremost of the five disciples of the Buddha:

> *Ye dhammā hetuppabhavā tesaṁ hetuṁ Tathāgatō āha,*
> *Tesaṁ cha yō nirōdho evaṁ vādī mahāsamaṇō* (*Apadāna*,
> *Sāriputta-apadāna*, *śloka*, 146).

(Existences which flow from a cause, their cause the Perfect One teaches, and how they end: this is the doctrine of the great *Samaṇa*). This saying of Aśvajit later became a doctrine of 'confession of faith in Buddhism'. 'Undoubtedly it refers to the doctrine of the concatenation of causes and effects, on which doctrine tradition, . . . represents Buddha's thoughts as being fixed, when he sits under the sacred tree of the Buddhahood. The painful destiny of the world works itself out in the chain of operations

which flow from ignorance; the doctrine of Buddha tells us what these existences are, dependent one on another, springing from ignorance, and how they come to an end, i.e. how the suffering of the world is removed.' This sacred formula is to be found inscribed on monuments, seals, etc. Similar sealings with this Buddhist creed have been also recovered from Pāhāḍpur, Sārnāth, Nālandā, etc. At Nālandā again bricks bearing the inscription of the creed or the *sūtra* texts have been found in the core of the votive *stūpas*.

(III) Sealings bearing personal names fall into two groups: (*a*) Sealings containing legends of individual names and varied motifs; (*b*) sealings bearing only personal names.

(*a*) (i) Four sealings bearing the conventional flower motif (lotus) contain such individual names as: *Śāntasenasya* (No. 15), *Lada* (or *ḍa*) *Ṭasa* or *Layasa* (No. 7), *Narasi* or (I)*śarasa* = *Īśvarasya* (No. 18) and *Bhramarasya* (No. 13). (ii) There are three sealings with the conventional plant motif (palm). Of these specimens, Nos. 5 and 6 bear identical legend: *Vīrabuddhī*. The legend on the sample No. 16 is illegible. (iii) There is only one sealing (No. 11) with the cattle-head motif bearing an individual name, *Dhiruḥ*. (iv) Sealing No. 3 contains two circular impressions with deer motif and legend in one line inside each. The identical legend in both impressions is *Īśvarasya*. (v) The legend on sealing No. 4 with, perhaps, a bird motif is *Vṛddhava*(*la*) and the one on No. 10 with an indeterminate device has been read as *Vyausakasaya*. (vi) The motifs on sealings Nos. 19 and 29 are indeterminate and the legends are: *Guhyāchakraḥ* and *Jātar*(*u*)*dra*. The former may or may not be a personal name. (vii) The sealing No. 27 with an indeterminate motif bears the legend: *Apradā*.

(*b*) Individual names also occur on sealings without bearing any motif. Such sealings with the legends of individual names may be grouped as: (i) Personal names in single impression and (ii) personal names inside double or triple impressions. The legends of personal names in single impressions consist of: *Harama*(*ṁ*)*dara-de*(*va**) (No. 8), *Sarabha*, *Chandramu*(*kha*) (*śrī*) or (*śa*) (No. 12), *De* (or *vi*)*ha raṇa* (No. 17), *Baladeva* (No. 22), *Da* (?) *yagu* (No. 41). (ii) The sealing No. 26 bears two impressions with one line inscription in each, perhaps, having identical legend: (*Śrī*) *var*(*u* ?)-*ṇavarmma*. The specimen No. 20 (20*a*) is a very interesting one having two oblong and one narrow channel-cut inscribed impressions. The legend in the first and second impressions are *Guṇākarasena* and *Sha* = (*śrī*) *Vīravainadina* (*śrī Vīravainyadatta*). The legend inside the narrow channel-cut impression is *sāshanalaṭhi* = *sāśanayashṭhī* which may mean the rod of punishment. It may, perhaps, refer to a police official as well.

The individual names inscribed on the sealings are all different. There are only four sealings with identical motifs and names (Nos. 5 and 6, 3 and 18). The sealing No. 3 also bears identical names in two impressions with an analogous device. Three impressions on sealing No. 26 only contain three different individual names. All these sealings bearing individual names may be recognized as personal sealings.

Among inscribed seals one complete but distorted conical specimen (No. 25) with broad circular stamping surface may be recognized as a stamp-seal. Unfortunately, the letters on the stamping surface are all obliterated. Of the seals the most significant discovery of the excavation at Rājbāḍīḍāṅgā is a fragmentary seal containing Greek letters. The fragmentary seal No. 2 (2*a*) bears deeply incised Greek letters. The script has been deciphered by Dr. B. N. Mukherji and the legend read as: *Horae*(?).

Horae (singular *Hora*) figure prominently in Greek religion and myths. They are mentioned in Hesiod (*c.* eighth century B.C.) and Homer. Originally there were two Horae and subsequently the number increased to three and finally to 12 in accordance with the changes in the enumeration of the seasons. Horae were regarded mainly as deities of seasons and Nature order. The two original *Horae* were the bestowers of spring and early summer. Later on the deity was endowed with ethical power and thereby became the guardians of good order, peace and justice. In the hymn of the Kouretes found in Crete dated in A.D. 200 it is said: 'And the *Horae* began to teem with blessings year by year, and justice to possess mankind, and all wild living things were held about by wealth-loving peace.' In Greek art *Horae* appear as fair maidens. An earlier representation of triple *Horae* is to be found on a vase from Florence belonging to *c.* sixth century B.C. The Greek mythology recognizes *Horae* as presiding over seasonal changes and as protector-guardians against all evils and dangers.

If the seal in question is a Graeco-Roman one, its discovery at Rājbāḍīdāṅgā is extremely significant. It is, perhaps, a unique find in India. There may be two possible explanations of the presence of the seal in Rājbāḍīdāṅgā. First, the seal might have been imported from another place which was in contact with the Romans or the Roman world because Rājbāḍīdāṅgā has not yet yielded any concrete evidence of such a contact; secondly, the specimen might have been also locally made in imitation of a Graeco-Roman seal. If it is accepted as an imitation product, the site should have produced a few more specimens. But, unfortunately, it is the only seal of its kind found at Rājbāḍīdāṅgā. Accordingly, the possibility of its importation is more suggestive. Rājbāḍīdāṅgā was indeed a great centre of the Buddhist monastery establishments, and as such certainly maintained direct or indirect contact with contemporaneous Buddhist centres in and outside Bengal. In this connection, particular reference may be made to certain excavated archaeological finds from Tamluk (Midnapur—ancient Tāmralipti, an international port town and a great centre of Buddhism) during 1954-55, which speak of Roman contact in the first two centuries of the Christian era. That Rājbāḍīdāṅgā had a direct link with Tāmralipti is beyond any doubt. In fact, according to the *Si-yu-ki* the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsang, came to Karṇasuvarṇa directly from Tāmralipti. In the event of such a contact the importation of this seal from Tāmralipti or any other source may not be an improbability. It is not unlikely that the Roman traders and navigators might have kept such seals in their possessions and, whenever required, sealings could be produced by stamping. Such a seal or sealing might have also a magical virtue of protection against all odds and dangers faced by the navigators and traders in different seasons. If the seal bears the name of the said Greek deity, it may be suggested that the stamp-seal in question was in the possession of a Greek or a Roman who plausibly visited Rājbāḍīdāṅgā. The alternative is that the seal might have been brought by somebody from Tāmralipti or from some other port towns. Yet, the possibility of its local product cannot be entirely ruled out. As no similar specimen has yet been discovered from any other site nothing definite can be said about this seal at present. But the fact remains that the discovery of the seal at Rājbāḍīdāṅgā certainly speaks of the Graeco-Roman contact with Eastern India.

Sequences and Dating

Regarding the stratigraphical sequences of the seals and sealings particular reference is to be made to two important layers, namely layers

(4) and (7a) of the trench A^4 which yielded majority of the sealings. In all the excavated trenches the sealings were recovered from almost identical layers and depths. As the trench A^4 yielded largest number of sealings it would be profitable to discuss the composition of its different layers, more particularly its seal-producing layers, and their relation with the structural remains unearthed in the trench (Pl. VI).

The uppermost seal-producing layer (4) consisted of loose darkish soil along with innumerable sherds and brick-bats. The layer was in fact composed of a deposition of filth and garbage. That it was a disturbed layer of debris is also borne out by patches of different compositions marked in the section as (3a), (4a) and (4b). The layer (4) was found covered by layer (3) which was composed of compact light brown earth mixed with brick-bats and sherds. But it is the layer (7a) which yielded most of the sealings, and a few were also recovered from layer (7). Layers (7) and (7a) were sealed by layer (6) consisting of compact clay mixed with sherds. Layer (7a) was composed of heavy deposition of loose, dark and ashy debris along with innumerable sherds and brick-bats and other minor antiquities. This heavy deposition of debris ranging from 1′ 4″ to 8″ in thickness was found covering the Phase II wall exposed in the north-western corner of the trench. Below (7a) was layer (7b) consisting of compact greyish clay devoid of sherds but with a few brick-bats. Again layers (8) and (8a) were characterized by compact brown earth mixed with bats and sherds, and *surki*-ramming respectively. Layer (9) consisted of grey sticky clay with a few sherds and tiny bats. The composition of layer (10) consisted of sandy silt deposition with few brick-bats at its bottom, and the layer (11) was formed by compact clay with dark brown strains, below which ran the natural soil.

The first phase of construction was on the natural soil, and on its debris was laid the foundation of the Phase II wall which was subsequently covered by heavy deposition of debris (7a). The rammed *surki*-layer (8a) was, plausibly, an indication of the floor-level corresponding to the exposed wall. From the stratigraphical sequences it is thus clear that the building remains belonging to first two phases of construction were distinctly anterior to the seal-producing layer (7a).

The culture-assemblage in layers (7a) and (4) consists of various rich minor antiquities, such as different kinds of terracotta objects like figurines, balls, discs, cones, beads and polished black, red and grey sherds, bowls, fragments of sprinklers, etc. Other fragmentary finds recovered comprised iron tools and nails, shell objects, cowrie-shells, animal and fish bones, copper pieces, etc. The nature and character of finds from both the levels are almost identical. This also proves disturbances in layer depositions. But none of these finds can be accurately dated. The polished grey, red and black sherds are to be ascribed to the post-Christian periods. The fragments of sprinklers consisting of stem-body, flange-rim and perforated knobs recovered during the excavations are, however, of considerable importance. But, unfortunately, such specimens were also discovered from all levels up to a depth of 8′ 2″ below surface. Real sprinklers supposed to be of foreign origin are to be attributed to the first few centuries of the Christian era. But the local products of sprinklers continued for many

centuries. At many excavated sites the sprinklers have been recovered from various sorts of datable depositions ranging from first-second century A.D. to sixth–eighth century A.D. This dating also roughly corresponds to the seal-producing layers. The area under excavation was found terribly disturbed and, as such, any exact sequential reconstruction could not be made.

Because of the paucity of other datable finds recovered during the excavation excepting stucco heads, copper-*chakra*, terracotta figurines discovered in other trenches, all from pit depositions, the ascription of exact dating to different layers posterior to the building constructions of Phases I and II in A^4 is absolutely dependent on the palaeographical dating of the seal-inscriptions. Palaeographical dating has been ascertained from the specimens bearing legible inscriptions. Of the 41 specimens illustrated here, 29 sealings were recovered from the trench A^4 alone. On palaeographical consideration all the sealings are to be attributed to a period ranging from *c.* fifth-sixth century A.D. to *c.* eighth-ninth century A.D. Only three sealings (Nos. 11, 19, 7) bear certain letters which can be attributed to *c.* fifth-sixth century A.D., and all others are to be mostly ascribed to *c.* seventh-eighth century A.D. Of the three sealings assigned to *c.* fifth-sixth century A.D., two (Nos. 19 and 7) were recovered from the layer (7a) at a depth of 8′–8′ 2″ below surface and one from layer (4) at a depth of 4′ 1″ (No. 11). As to the sealing No. 7 Dr. B. N. Mukherji has suggested in his observations (included in explanation of plates) that certain letters may be attributed to *c.* fifth century A.D. Out of the remaining 26 specimens from trench A^4 belonging to *c.* seventh-eighth century A.D., eight sealings (Nos. 1, 3, 9, 21, 23, 31, 33 and 34) were recovered from the layer (4) at varying depths of 3′ 10″ to 5′ 3½″ below surface and 18 from the layer (7a) at depths of 8′ to 8′ 6″. Accordingly, it has not been possible to ascribe separate datings to the two seal-producing layers. This is also borne out by the discovery of sealings belonging to *c.* seventh-eighth century A.D. from almost similar and corresponding layers and depths in other excavated trenches. In this connection a passing reference may be made to the seal No. 2 (Pl. I) bearing Greek letters. Palaeographically, the earliest dating of the Greek letters on the seal is to be attributed to *c.* fourth century B.C., but this style of writing continued almost unchanged even in later periods. At Tamluk the discovery of rouletted ware and sprinklers ascribed to Period II has been supposed to speak of contact with the Roman world belonging to first two centuries of the Christian era. But at Rājbāḍīdāṅgā no rouletted ware was found, and the fragments of sprinklers were recovered from all levels excepting the uppermost layers. On the other hand, the seal bearing Greek letters was found in association with other sealings belonging to *c.* sixth–eighth century A.D. On the strength of the associated datable finds this particular seal is also to be attributed to *c.* sixth–eighth century A.D.

The area under excavation at Rājbāḍīdāṅgā was found largely disturbed, and all the excavated trenches witnessed evidences of continuous depositions of debris and pits. In such disturbed depositions it is hardly possible to reconstruct accurately the chronological sequences even on the basis of the palaeographical dating of the seal-inscriptions. It is indeed very much confusing that all the sealings ascribed to *c.* fifth–eighth century A.D. were recovered from both the upper (4) and (5) and lower (7) and (7a) layers. Such findings clearly demonstrated continuous disturbed

depositions from layer (4) up to layer (7a) covering the Phase II wall. That the layers (4) and (7a) were considerably disturbed is also proved by the nature and character of the deposition. In fact, both the layers supplied evidences of pits and debris which were all subsequent to Phase II structure and the floor level. Accordingly, all seal-yielding layers were posterior to structures of Phases I and II. It then follows that the Phase II wall is to be ascribed to a period earlier than *c.* sixth–eighth century A.D. From a consideration of the distinctive structural sequences at the site the sealings may be tentatively regarded as contemporaneous with the Phase III structural remains. Layers corresponding to Phases II and I building activities did not yield any sealing.

PURPOSE

Nothing definite can be said about the distinctive purposes, for which these various inscribed and uninscribed terracotta sealings and seals were used here. Generally speaking, such terracotta sealings might have been used for different purposes such as official authority seals, identity tokens, pilgrimage tokens, amulets and charms, votive offerings, fixation tablets, sealing of letters or packets and also as decorative and ornamental devices.

The sealing bearing *Dharmachakra*-deer motif above and inscription below with the legend of its being issued by the community of the monks of the monastery was plausibly used as a token for conveyance of authority or identification mark. Such a sealing again might have been as well put into operation as a tablet or record with the name of the monastery and its symbol admitting an individual into the community of the monks of the monastery. The legend on sealing No. 1 gives the information that it belongs to the community of monks or that it is being issued by the community of the monks of the great monastery, *Raktamṛttikā*. This kind of sealing was either an identity or authority token or a document of admission into the convent. In other words, such a sealing was mostly the official seal of the Buddhist monastery. Similar official monastery sealings have been also found at Pāhāḍpur, Nālandā, Ratnagiri, etc. In all cases the sealings belonged to the *Bhikshu-saṅgha* of the monastery concerned.

In the case of sealing letters or parcels the usual practices were: (*a*) to attach or fix a wet lump of clay of any desired shape and then to impress upon it the stamp-seal; (*b*) to suspend a baked clay sealing containing the names, etc., impressed. In the first process the clay sealing remains unbaked and naturally preserves string impressions or marks of packets, etc., and in the second, the clay sealing bears a perforation or hole meant for suspension. In the first process, again, the sealing might have been subsequently baked by the recipient of the letter or packet for preserving it as a record or voucher. Numerous such sealings bearing the names of the officials and private individuals have been also recovered from different sites. But the monastery sealings or other sealings from Rājbāḍīḍāṅgā do not contain any distinctive marks of string or letters. Instead, the reverse of the monastery sealing has an uneven surface with grooves, channel-depressions, etc., giving a disordered appearance. Such indications on the reverse surface may be suggestive of a sort of fixation or attachment but not possibly to letters or packets.

The sealings bearing symbols and legends of individual names appear to be mostly identity tokens. But the devices on these sealings also speak of their distinct relationship with Buddhism, and as such they may be recognized as votive offerings with the name of the devotee or pilgrim stamped on them. Further, the sealings containing the individual names only

without any motif were also probably used as identity tokens. It is, however, difficult to determine the real purpose of the sealings bearing identical or different legends of individual names inside double or triple stamp-impressions. These sealings may also be taken as votive offerings.

But the sealings containing the sacred Buddhist formula made by the pilgrims or devotees were mostly votive offerings. Sometimes the small disc-sealings bearing the Buddhist creed used to be placed inside votive clay *stūpas*, cavities of plaques containing the figures of the Buddha and also at the back of the Buddha-images. Such evidences of the use of the Buddhist creed-bearing sealings have been found at Nālandā, Pāhāḍpur, Sārnāth, Maināmati, etc. At Nālandā one votive *stūpa* contained no less than 1,000 unburnt clay caskets, each encasing two small plaques with their inscribed faces together. At Pāhāḍpur as well similar sealings were found inside the votive *stūpas* and cavities of the terracotta plaques. Again, at Nālandā many bricks with the Buddhist creed or the Buddhist *sūtra*-texts inscribed were discovered from the core of the votive *stūpas*. At Kotila-Mura (near Sālban *Vihāra*, Maināmati, Comilla, East Pakistan) miniature *stūpas* and baked clay sealings were discovered from the cells. Such a practice of depositing creed-inscribed bricks was also followed for acquiring religious merit. In this connection it would be profitable to make a particular reference to the observation of the Chinese pilgrim, I–Tsing, who speaks of the practice of depositing relics of the Buddha and the *gāthā* or the chain of causation, i.e. *Ye dhammā* . . ., etc., inside the *chaityas*. Kanishka in the first century A.D. deposited the Buddhist scriptures (compiled at the fourth Buddhist Council), engraved on copper sheets in a stone vessel and built a *stūpa* over it.

Amongst the Buddhists there are four classes of objects of worship and veneration: (*a*) corporeal remains of the Buddha; (*b*) objects used by the Buddha; (*c*) objects associated with the Buddha such as the *Bodhi*-tree, *chaitya*, etc., and (*d*) *dharma* as preached by the Buddha. The Chinese pilgrim, I-Tsing, has given a good account of such practices in the seventh century A.D. He says: 'The priests and laymen in India make *chaityas* or images with earth, or impress the Buddha's image on silk or paper, and worship it with offerings wherever they go. Sometimes they build *stūpas* of the Buddha by making a pile surrounding it with bricks. They sometimes form these *stūpas* in lonely field to leave them to fall in ruins. Anyone may thus employ himself in making the objects for worship. Again, when the people make images and *chaityas* which consist of gold, silver, copper, iron, earth, lacquer, bricks and stones, or when they heap up snowy sand they put in the images or *chaityas* two kinds of *śarīras*: the relics of the great teacher and the *gāthā* of the chain of causation.' This *gāthā* is : *Ye dhammā* . . ., etc., spoken by Aśvajit to Sāriputra. Oldenberg thinks that the *gāthā* belongs to the *Nidānasūtra* which explains the origination and the cessation of what are called here: *dhammā hetu-pabhavā*. The Sanskrit version is to be found mostly on the votive gifts of images, tablets, plaques, seals, etc. The merits derived from placing such *śarīras* in the *chaityas* or images are indeed abundant and numerous.

After the early centuries of the Christian era authentic relics of the Buddha were not easily available. So the tablets and seals, containing the *Nidānasūtra*, used to be deposited in the *stūpas*, *chaityas*, etc. This *sūtra* was of paramount importance both to the monks and laymen, for this was the most sacred next to the four venerable truths (*ārya-satyāni*). It was believed that a proper understanding and realization of this *sūtra* would lead to the attainment of *Nirvāṇa*. Accordingly, both to the *bhikshus* and the

laymen this *sūtra* became the most sacred possession, and the offering of tablets, images, sealings, etc., containing the formula was considered to be of great merit. Even the clay-*stūpas* were consecrated by the presence of the seal-relics. The offering of such a votive *stūpa* was considered as a great religious merit like the building and dedication of a shrine. The devotees or the pilgrims offered also such sealings as tokens of their veneration to the Buddha and Buddhism and deposited them in the votive *stūpas*. This idea or feeling appears to have inspired the pilgrims or the devotees to deposit the creed-bearing 'sealings in the circular hollow or cavity on the back of the clay plaque containing' the representations of the Buddha. Such plaques were mostly ill-fired, and the creed-sealings were placed inside the cavity and thence filled with clay before baking. These plaques or *stūpas* encasing the creed-sealings were then consecrated as the most sacred votive offerings. The richer people generally offered the images of the Buddha made of metal or clay with the creed-sealings deposited at their backs, and the common people might have offered simply the formula-bearing sealings. But such distinctive evidences of the offering of creed-sealings are absent at Rājbāḍīdāṅgā. The creed-bearing sealings have been mostly found in pit depositions in association with other inscribed sealings. It appears that the Rājbāḍīdāṅgā formula-bearing sealings were simple votive offerings to the *stūpas* or shrines or even to the images of the Buddha. In this connection it is worth noting that the sacred formula summarizing the doctrine of causation, which is the essence of the Buddha's teaching, was looked upon as a real embodiment of the faith and thus probably did the duty for the corporeal relics of the Master in these later times when it was impossible to obtain them. Thus the main purpose of offering these sealings was to acquire religious merit. It may be, however, suggested further that the creed-bearing sealings might have been distributed as well amongst the pilgrims or devotees who certainly preserved them as their most sacred possessions being the *memento* of their visit to a Buddhist shrine or monastery. Not only that, even such sealings were also plausibly used as personal possessions against evil eyes and dangers or for any other religious consideration. Hence the creed-bearing sealings might be recognized as magical charms as well.

The purpose or the use of the sealings bearing symbols only is not definitely known. The common motif represents either a budding or blossomed conventional lotus which again discloses association with the Buddha and Buddhism. Thus these sealings may be also considered as votive offerings. But the possibility of their use as decorative or ornamental devices may be also recognized.

Though nothing definite is known or recognizable about the distinct purpose or purposes for which all these inscribed or uninscribed terracotta sealings were put to use, it may be presumed that they were mostly identity or authority or pilgrimage tokens and votive offerings.

Summary

From the above discussion on the inscribed and uninscribed terracotta seals and sealings discovered during excavations at Rājbāḍīdāṅgā it follows:

(i) That the inscribed and uninscribed terracotta sealings are of various shapes and sizes and that most of the sealings bear both symbols and legends, and a few contain either inscription or motif only inside varied forms of impression;

(ii) That the seals and sealings were mostly discovered from two particular deposits, namely layers (4) and (7a) at varying depths of 3′ 4″ to

8′ 6″ below surface, and that the latter deposition was found overlying the Phase II structure (in trench A4) which was anterior to the said layer (7a);

(iii) That on palaeographical grounds the inscribed sealings are to be attributed to a period ranging from *c.* fifth-sixth to ninth-tenth century A.D., but mostly to *c.* seventh-eighth century A.D.;

(iv) That the sealings bear legends of individual names, the Buddhist creed formula, the name of the illustrious Buddhist monastery, *Raktamṛttikā-mahāvihāra*, and decorative floral and animal motifs;

(v) That excepting the monastery sealings, all other sealings were perhaps mostly votive offerings or identity or pilgrimage tokens;

(vi) That the recovery of innumerable, incomplete and waste products of seals and sealings during excavations is very much suggestive of Rājbāḍīdāṅgā being a seal-manufacturing centre as well like other Buddhist monastery sites. As these sealings were in great demand by the devotees or pilgrims for making votive offerings, they were to be supplied from a nearby station, and often special seals with the names of the pilgrims or lay worshippers were also made to order;

(vii) That on the basis of the legends on the monastery sealings supported by other archaeological finds it is now possible to locate definitely the illustrious Buddhist monastery, *Raktamṛttikā-mahāvihāra*, at the excavated site at Rājbāḍīdāṅgā, and hence also Karṇasuvarṇa, the capital city of the Gauḍa kingdom in the seventh century A.D., in its neighbourhood.

Acknowledgements

Grateful thanks are due to Professor D. C. Sircar and Dr. B. N. Mukherji for kindly reading the legends, Professor S. K. Saraswati for active help and valuable suggestions, Prof. P. C. Ghosh for kindly going through the manuscript, Sri D. Chakrabarti for helping in tabulating finds, Sri B. Chatterji for section drawing, Sri Nitai Das for photographs and Sri R. Mukherji of the Department of Archaeology, Calcutta University.

Note—[1] Words, 'Seal' and 'Sealing', have been used as meaning a Seal-matrix and an impression made by a seal respectively (Webster's Third New International Dictionary, 1966).

[2] Layer numbers in the text, (7a), (3d), (4a), etc., to be read as (7A), (3D), (4A)' etc. [with Capital letters], as in the sections in Plate VII.

Explanation of Plates

Plate I

1 and 1A. Complete; locus A4 6′ 7½″ × 10′ 6″ – 4′ 11″; layer (4); roughly oval; max. length 4·8 cm.; max. breadth 4·2 cm.; well burnt; pale terracotta colour; reverse surface, rough and irregular—at the top two holes on left and right sides, in the middle one horizontal deep channel-cut, perhaps for fixation; obverse smoothened by fingers indicated by finger impression; shallow oval seal impression measuring 3·1 cm. × 2·8 cm.; upper register—an oval *Dharmachakra* on a tiered pedestal; *Dharmachakra* measures 0·7 cm. × 0·6 cm.; *chakra* flanked by two lively deer with raised necks directed to it; lower register—below the tiered two lines of inscription; legend (read by Prof. D. C. Sircar: *Śrī Raktamṛttikā . . . Bhikshu-saṅghasya*; *c.* seventh-eighth century A.D.; monastery official sealing.

2 and 2A. Fragmentary; locus A4 9′ ½″ × 17′ 7″ – 8′ 4″; layer (7a); originally round; well burnt; partly darkish and deep brown colour; max. length 2·00 cm.; max. breadth 1·8 cm.; above, one semi-circular incised line; below, deeply incised Greek letters extant; legend (read by Dr. B. Mukherji): HA¶C = i;)PAH = *Horae* (?); from *c.* fourth century B.C. onwards—found in association with sealings datable from *c.* sixth–eighth century A.D.; a Graeco-Roman seal.

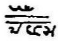
PLATE

3 and 3A. Complete; locus A4 15′ 10″ × 11′ 5″ – 5′ 1½″; layer (4); roundish; well burnt; pale terracotta colour; deformed by finger pressure; finger impression present; max. length 2·1 cm.; max. breadth 2·00 cm.; two deep circular impressions, diameters 1·1 cm. and 1·2 cm.; above, two deer facing each other in both impressions; below, two horizontal lines and one line inscription in each impression; identical legend in both impressions (read by Prof. D. C. Sircar): *Īśvarasya*; *c.* seventh-eighth century A.D.; a personal sealing.

4. Complete, lower portion slightly damaged; locus A4 10′ × 15′ 1″ – 8′ 5″; layer (7a); ill burnt; dark colour; roundish deformed by finger pressure; finger impression present; max. length 2·1 cm.; max. breadth 1·8 cm.; almost circular impression; diameter 1·3 cm.; above, a bird motif (?) on left facing another, and under, one horizontal line; below, one line inscription; legend (read by Dr. B. Mukherji): *Vṛddhava(la)*; *c.* seventh-eighth century A.D.; a personal sealing.

5. Complete; locus A4 8′ 6½″ × 6′ 5″ – 8′ 4″; layer (7a); well burnt; bright terracotta colour; roundish, deformed by finger pressure; max. length 1·5 cm.; max. breadth 1·3 cm.; roughly oval impression—1·2 cm. × 1·00 cm.; above, conventional palm-tree motif upon one horizontal line; below, one line inscription; legend (read by Prof. D. C. Sircar): *Vīravuddhī* (identical with the legend on No. 6); *c.* seventh-eighth century A.D.; a personal sealing.

6. Complete; locus A4 7′ 3″ × 5′ 7″ – 8′ 2″; layer (7a); darkish colour; well burnt; roundish, slightly deformed by finger pressure; max. length 1·8 cm.; max. breadth 1·5 cm.; almost circular impression—1·3 cm.; above, perhaps a bird (?) motif upon one horizontal line; below, one line inscription; legend (read by Prof. D. C. Sircar): *Vīravuddhī* (same as on No. 5); *c.* seventh-eighth century A.D.; a personal sealing.

7. Complete; locus A4 11′ 5½″ × 16′ 2″ – 8′ 2″; layer (7a); well burnt; pale terracotta colour, partly darkish on obverse and reverse; rough surface; round shape; max. diameter 2·1 cm.; circular deep groove impression diameter 0·9 cm.; above, conventional floral motif upon two horizontal lines (or ); below, one line inscription; legend (read by Dr. B. Mukherji): *Lada* (or *ḍa*) *Ṭasa* or *Layasa*, i.e. (seal) of *Laḍaṭa* or *Ladata*; notes on letters by Dr. B. Mukherji: *la* (Indore Copperplate of Skandagupta, Bühler, *Tafel*, IV, col. VII), *ḍa* (Mandasor Inscription of Yaśodharman, Bühler, *Tafel*, IV, col. X), *da* (Indore Copperplate of Skandagupta and Mandasor Inscription of Yaśodharman, Bühler, *Tafel*, IV, cols. VII and X), *ṭa* (inscriptions of the centuries immediately before and after A.D., Bühler, *Tafel*, II, III, IV, etc.), *Sa* (Allāhābād Inscription of Samudragupta and Maukhari Inscriptions, etc., Bühler, *Tafel*, IV, cols. XI, XII, etc.). The seal impression and so also the seal are therefore palaeographically datable to *c.* fifth-sixth or seventh century A.D.; a personal sealing.

8. Complete; locus D1 2′ 3″ × 5′ 1″ – 8′; layer (6); well burnt; pale terracotta colour on reverse and darkish on obverse; roundish, slightly deformed; max. diameter 2·1 cm.; deep rhomboid impression (1·00 cm.) with tiny dots as border-decoration; one line inscription; legend (read by Prof. D. C. Sircar): *Harama(ṁ)dara-de(va*)* (?); *c.* seventh-eighth century A.D.; a personal sealing.

9. Complete; locus A4 17′ 5½″ × 10′ 2″ – 5′ 5½″; layer (4); well burnt; pale terracotta colour; roundish, slightly deformed by finger pressure; finger impression present; max. length 2·00 cm.; max. breadth 1·7 cm.; oval deep impression—1·3 cm. × 1·00 cm. bearing four lines of inscription inside; legend (read by Prof. D. C. Sircar): Buddhist formula; *c.* seventh-eighth century A.D.; a votive sealing.

10. Complete, right side slightly damaged; locus A4 6′ 1″ × 16′ 5″ – 8′ 11″; layer (7a); well burnt; dark colour; roundish; max. diameter 1·7 cm.; shallow circular impression—diameter 1·1 cm.; above, motif (not clear); below, one line inscription; letters mostly obliterated; legend (read by Dr. B. Mukherji): *Vyausakasaya*; *c.* seventh-eighth century A.D.; a personal sealing.

PLATE III

11. Complete; locus A4 16′ 4″ × 9′ 2″ – 4′ 1″; layer (4); well burnt; dark colour; irregular shape, deformed by finger pressure; finger impression present; max. length 2·2 cm.; max. breadth 1·9 cm.; rhomboid deep impression (1·00 cm.) with borderlines

meeting at corners; above, cattle-head motif upon one horizontal line; below, one line inscription; legend (read by Prof. D. C. Sircar): *Dhiruḥ*; c. sixth century A.D.; a personal sealing.

12. Complete; locus B² 5′ 8½″ × 14′ 5″ – 5′ 1½″; layer (6); well burnt; dark colour; roundish square, deformed by finger pressure; finger impression present; max. length 1·9 cm.; max. breadth 1·8 cm.; one deep oblong impression—1·4 cm. × 0·7 cm. with inscription inside; legend (read by Prof. D. C. Sircar): *Sarabha* (?); c. seventh-eighth century A.D. (reading of Dr. B. Mukherji: *Chandramu(kha)(sh)* or *(sa)*—c. ninth-tenth century A.D.); a personal sealing.

13. Complete; locus A⁴ 10′ 4″ × 8′ – 8′ 5″; layer (7a); bright terracotta colour; well burnt; irregular shape, deformed by finger pressure; finger impression present; max. length 1·7 cm.; max. breadth 1·5 cm.; reverse rough; almost circular impression—diameter 1·2 cm.; above, flower motif (lotus) comprising six studs as petals upon one horizontal line; below, one line inscription; legend (read by Dr. B. Mukherji): *Bhramarasya*; c. seventh-eighth century A.D.; a personal sealing.

14. Fragmentary; locus A⁴ 9′ 9″ × 13′ 1″ – 8′ 6″; layer (7a); well burnt; darkish colour; reverse rough with depressions; irregular (perhaps, originally oval); max. length 3·00 cm.; max. breadth 2·1 cm.; circular or oval impression; above, one deer on left upon one horizontal line; below, three lines inscription; legend (read by Dr. B. Mukherji):

L 1. *Raktamṛtti(kāyāṁ*)*
L 2. *(Vi)hār(ē) (ārya)*
L 3. *bhikshu (saṅghasya ?)*

c. seventh-eighth century A.D.; official sealing of the *Raktamṛttikā* monastery.

15. Fragmentary; locus A² 2′ 10″ × 11′ 9″ – 6′ 7″; layer (7); ill burnt; dark colour; reverse rough and irregular; indeterminate shape; max. length 2·3 cm.; max. breadth 2·1 cm.; two almost circular deep impressions—diameter 1·4 cm.—impression on left broken and impression on right slightly damaged; above, a motif comprising three small vertical lines upon one small horizontal line—a conventional floral device; on left impression, motif and last two letters traceable; inscription inside right impression clear; legend (read by Prof. D. C. Sircar): *Śrī Śāntasenasya*, i.e. of Śrī Śāntasena; c. seventh–ninth century A.D.; a personal sealing.

16. Complete; locus A⁴ 7′ 3″ × 11′ 10″ – 8′ 6″; layer (7a); well burnt; dark colour; irregular shape, deformed by finger pressure; finger impression present; max. length 1·6 cm.; max. breadth 1·4 cm.; oval impression; above, conventional palm-tree motif upon one horizontal line; below, one line inscription; letters obliterated; legend illegible, perhaps same as Nos. 5 and 6; c. seventh-eighth century A.D.; a personal sealing.

17. Fragmentary; locus A⁴ 10′ × 6′ 4″ – 8′ 4″; layer (7a); well burnt; pale terracotta colour on reverse and darkish on obverse; reverse surface bears three channel depressions; irregular shape; finger impression present; max. length 3·5 cm.; max. breadth 2·4 cm.; almost circular impression; few letters traceable; legend (read by Dr. B. Mukherji): *De* (or *Vi*) *ha raṇa*; c. sixth-seventh century A.D.

18. Complete; locus A⁴ 9′ × 6′ 1″ × 8′ 5″; layer (7a); well burnt; dark colour; uneven reverse with depressions; irregular shape, deformed; max. length 1·7 cm.; max. breadth 1·4 cm.; oval impression; above, floral motif (lotus ?) comprising six tiny knobs upon one horizontal line; below, one line inscription; legend (read by Prof. D. C. Sircar): *Narasi* (Dr. B. Mukherji: *(I) sarasa* = *Iśvarasya*); c. sixth–eighth century A.D.; a personal sealing.

19. Complete; locus A⁴ 16′ 10″ × 16′ 4″ – 8′; layer (7a); well burnt; pale terracotta colour; smooth surface; reverse even with a well-cut hole; irregular shape, deformed by finger pressure; finger impression present; max. length 1·6 cm.; max. breadth 1·2 cm.; circular impression with diameter of 1·00 cm.; above, motif—not clear, perhaps, a plant; below, one line inscription; legend (read by Dr. B. Mukherji): *Guhyāchakraḥ*; c. fifth-sixth century A.D.; perhaps, a personal sealing.

Plate IV

20 and 20A. Fragmentary; locus B² 7′ 11½″ × 10′ 6″ – 5′ 9″; layer (6); well burnt; pale terracotta colour; roughly oval; max. length 3·1 cm.; max. breadth 2·4 cm.; obverse

smooth and darkish; two oblong impressions of 1·4 cm. × 0.7 cm. and 1·5 cm. × 0.5 cm. and one narrow channel-cut impression of 1·7 cm. × 0·4 cm.; one line inscription in each impression; legend on first oblong impression (read by Prof. D. C. Sircar): *Guṇākarasena*; legend on second oblong impression (read by Dr. B. Mukherji): *Sha* (= *Śrī*) *Vīravainadina* (*Śrī Vīravainyadatta*); legend on the narrow channel-cut impression (read by Dr. B. Mukherji): *Śāshanalaṭhī* = *Śāśanayashṭhī*; c. sixth–eighth century A.D.; a personal sealing bearing three individual names.

21. Complete; locus A⁴ 17′ × 11′ – 3′ 8″; layer (4); well burnt; pale terracotta colour; smooth surface; measurement—2·1 cm. × 1·8 cm.; finger impression present; oval deep impression measuring 1·5 cm. × 1·1 cm.; one line inscription in the middle faintly traceable; letters obliterated; legend illegible.

22. Complete; locus A⁵ 12′ 7″ × 15′ 5½″ – 4′ 6″; layer (5); well burnt; reverse terracotta colour and obverse dark colour; elongated in shape; max. length 2·1 cm.; max breadth 1·7 cm.; reverse flat with raised reed line; horizontal deep groove channel measuring 1·8 cm. × 0·7 cm. with inscription inside; legend (read by Prof. D. C. Sircar). *Baladeva*; c. *seventh–eighth* century A.D.; a personal sealing.

23. Complete; locus A⁴ 17′ × 11′ – 4′ 1″; layer (4); well burnt; pale terracotta colour; smooth reverse with two horizontal channel-cuts, perhaps reed marks; finger impressions present; elongated in shape; max. length 2·4 cm.; max. breadth 1·4 cm.; deep horizontal channel groove measuring 2·00 cm. × 0·6 cm. with inscription inside; few letters traceable; legend illegible.

24. Fragmentary, lower part broken; locus A² 2′ 10″ × 11′ 10″ – 6′ 11″; layer (7); ill burnt; dark colour; reverse smooth bearing finger impression; originally oval in shape; max. length 2·5 cm.; max. breadth 4·00 cm.; oval impression; above, *Dharmachakra* with dots-decoration; *chakra* flanked by two deer—deer on right faintly traceable; legend—inscribed portion broken, perhaps, a monastery official sealing.

25. Slightly damaged; locus A⁴ 9′ 9″ × 13′ 2″ – 8′ 4″; layer (7a); ill burnt; partly terracotta colour and darkish colour; conical with circular inscribed surface; total length 3·1 cm.; circular stamping surface with a diameter of 2·9 cm.; letters obliterated; legend illegible; a seal.

PLATE V

26. Fragmentary; locus A² 7′ 6″ × 9′ 9″ – 7′; layer (7); well burnt; darkish on obverse and pale terracotta colour on reverse; rough reverse with wood impressions; smooth obverse; finger impressions present; irregular shape; max. length 3·5 cm.; max. breadth 2·4 cm.; two oval impressions; impression below broken, only two letters extant; impression above partly damaged; one line inscription in each impression; legend (read by Dr. B. Mukherji): (*Śrī*) *Var* (*u* ?) *navarmma*; c. ninth-tenth century A.D.; a personal sealing.

27. Fragmentary; locus A² 7′ 1″ × 5′ 10″ – 8′ 9″; layer (7); ill burnt; pale terracotta colour; irregular shape; max. length 3·3 cm.; max. breadth 3·1 cm.; rough reverse with channel depressions; smooth obverse and darkish on right side; square impression measuring 1·3 cm. × 1·3 cm. and, perhaps, another circular impression on left; above, a device with studs; below, one line inscription; legend (read by Dr. B. Mukherji): *Apradā*; c. seventh-eighth century A.D.; a personal sealing.

28. Fragmentary, lower part broken; locus A⁴ 7′ 2″ × 16′ 6″ – 8′ 1″; layer (7a); well burnt; dull grey colour; finger impressions present; rough reverse and smoother obverse; irregular shape; max. length 5·5 cm.; max. breadth 2·3 cm.; oval impression with borderline; above, *Dharmachakra* on a tiered pedestal flanked by two deer—deer on left clear; oval *Dharmachakra* with one central dot as nave and eight spokes radiating from it; below, inscription of which only upper part of the first line extant; legend (read by Dr. B. Mukherji): *Koṇḍhika* (*s*) *ya* (*Kauḍikasya* or *Gaṇḍhikasya* ?), i.e. of *Kauḍika* or *Gandhika*; c. sixth-seventh century A.D.; a personal sealing.

29. Fragmentary, right side broken; locus A⁴ 9′ ½″ × 17′ 7″ – 8′ 4″; layer (7a); ill burnt and fragile; darkish colour; rough reverse with three channel depressions; irregular in shape; max. length 4·5 cm.; max. breadth 3·00 cm.; oval impression; perhaps a motif above; part of one line inscription extant; legend (read by Dr. B. Mukherji): *Jātar*(*u*)*dra*; c. sixth–eighth century A.D.; a personal sealing.

Plate VI

30. Complete; locus A^4 9′ 9″ × 13′ 1″ – 8′ 6″; layer (7a); well burnt; terracotta colour; flat and smooth reverse; circular flat terracotta disc; diameter 2·00 cm.; deep circular impression; diameter 1·2 cm.; four lines of inscription; legend: Buddhist formula; *c.* sixth–eighth century A.D.; votive sealing.

31. Complete; locus A^4 11′ 3″ × 13′ 1″ – 4′; layer (4); well burnt; pale terracotta colour; flat small disc; flat and smooth reverse; diameter 2·9 cm.; circular impression, diameter 1·6 cm.; four lines of inscription; legend: Buddhist formula; *c.* sixth–eighth century A.D.; votive sealing.

32. Complete; locus C^1 8′ 7″ × 13′ 3″ – 6′; layer (7); well burnt; flat and smooth reverse; small flat disc; diameter 2·2 cm.; flat circular impression, diameter 1·2 cm.; four lines of inscription; legend: Buddhist formula; *c.* seventh-eighth century A.D.; votive sealing.

33. Complete; locus A^4 10′ 1″ × 4′ 9½″ – 4′ 10″; layer (4); well burnt; flat and smooth reverse; small flat disc; diameter 2·00 cm.; flat circular impression, diameter 1·8 cm.; four lines of inscription; legend: Buddhist formula; *c.* seventh-eighth century A.D.; votive sealing.

34. Complete; locus A^4 3′ 6″ × 7′ 10″ – 3′ 10″; layer (4); well burnt; pale terracotta colour; flat and smooth reverse; small flat disc; diameter 2·3 cm.; flat circular impression, diameter 1·8 cm.; four lines of inscription; legend: Buddhist formula; *c.* seventh-eighth century A.D.; votive sealing.

35. Complete; locus Dy^1 13′ × 14′ 4″ – 5′ 4½″; layer (8); well burnt; terracotta colour; flat and smooth reverse; small flat disc; diameter 2·2 cm.; flat circular impression, diameter 1·8 cm.; four lines of inscription; legend: Buddhist formula; *c.* seventh-eighth century A.D.; votive sealing.

36. Complete, slightly damaged; locus A^4 9′ 1″ × 8′ 10″ – 8′ 5″; layer (7a); well burnt; dark colour; circular; diameter 2·00 cm.; flat and smooth reverse bearing finger impression; circular impression with borderline, diameter 1·4 cm.; eight-petalled floral motif with four smaller and four larger alternate petals—conventional lotus design; ornamental tablet or votive offering.

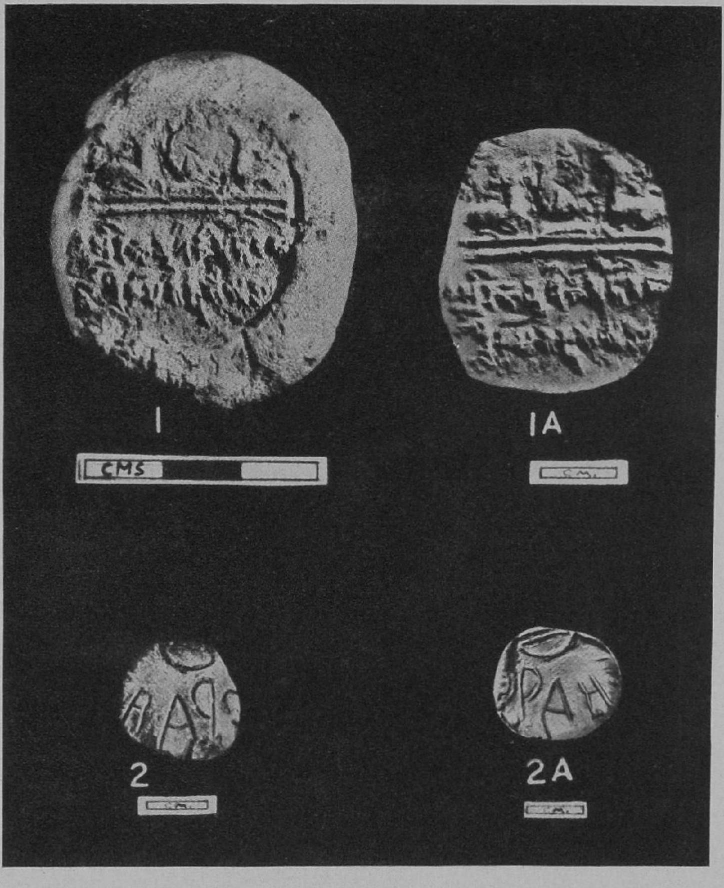
37. Complete, slightly damaged; locus A^4 9′ 6″ × 10′ 5″ – 8′ 2″; layer (7a); well burnt; terracotta colour; small flat disc; smooth and flat reverse with finger impression; diameter 2·1 cm.; complete circular impression with borderline, diameter 1·5 cm.; four larger and four smaller alternate eight-petalled floral motif—a conventional lotus device; ornamental tablet or votive offering.

38. Complete, slightly damaged; locus A^4 7′ 4″ × 6′ 4″ – 8′ 2″; layer (7a); well burnt; pale terracotta colour; small disc; diameter 2·1 cm.; flat and smooth reverse with finger impression; circular impression with borderline, diameter 1·6 cm.; eight-petalled floral motif with four larger and four smaller alternate petals—a conventional lotus device; ornamental tablet or votive offering.

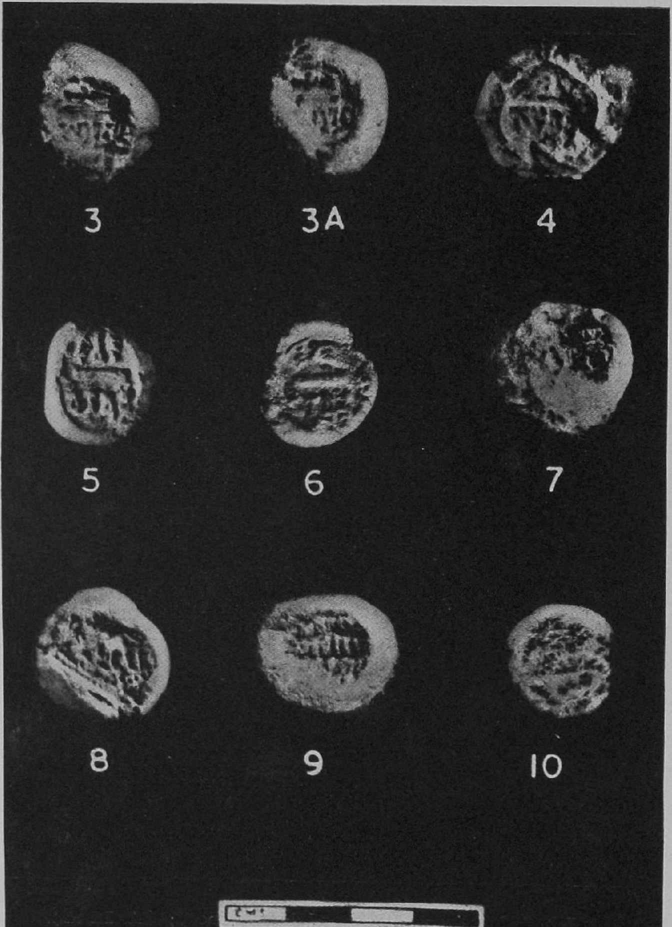
39. Complete; locus A^5 14′ 7½″ × 14′ 7″ – 2′ 9″; layer (8a); well burnt; small disc; diameter 2·4 cm.; flat and smooth reverse and darkish, with one well-cut horizontal shallow channel, perhaps marks of fixation; diameter 2·5 cm.; obverse darkish on right side and terracotta colour on left; circular impression, diameter 1·9 cm.; five-petalled lotus bud; ornamental tablet or votive offering.

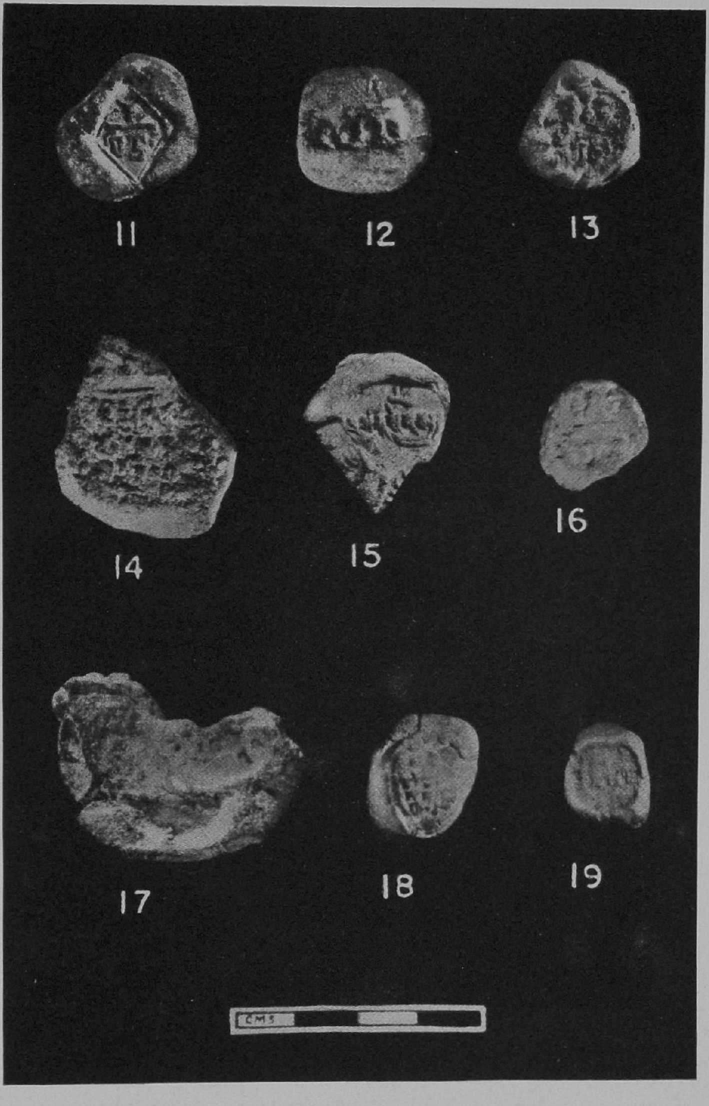
40. Fragmentary; locus C^1 11′ 9″ × 11′ – 1′ 9″; layer (8); well burnt; reverse pale terracotta colour and obverse surface with the motif darkish; obverse smooth and reverse uneven and concave with wood marks; irregular shape, originally oval; max. length 2·6 cm.; max. breadth 2·3 cm.; oval impression, right portion broken; motif of a cattle with upright horns engaged in chewing leaves of a plant, and below, a calf engaged in sucking; aesthetically a superb representation; perhaps, an ornamental device.

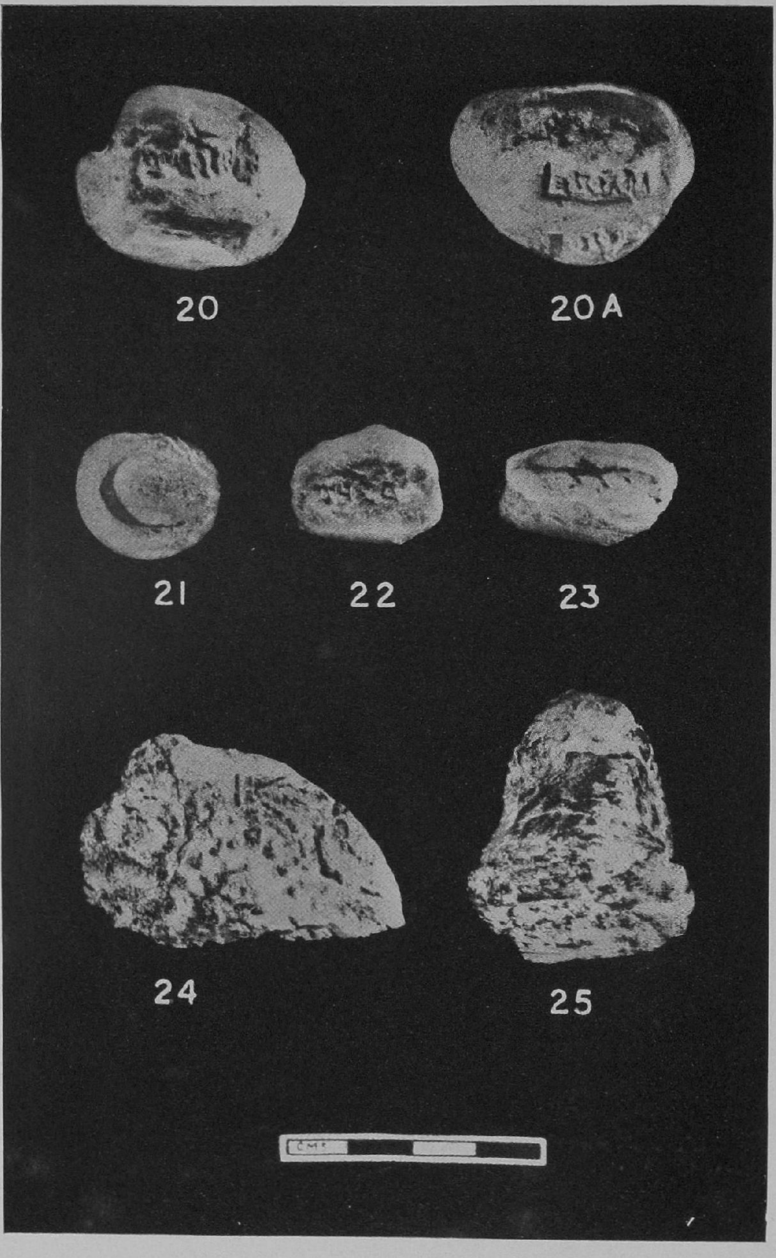
41. Complete with blurred impression; locus A^4 10′ 5″ × 7′ 4″ – 8′ 4″; layer (7a); well burnt; dark colour; roughly roundish; max. length 1·5 cm.; max. breadth 1·3 cm.; obverse flat; impression not very clear; two horizontal lines below extant, and above, legend; legend (read by Dr. B. Mukherji): *Da* (?) *Yagu*; *c.* seventh-eighth century A.D.

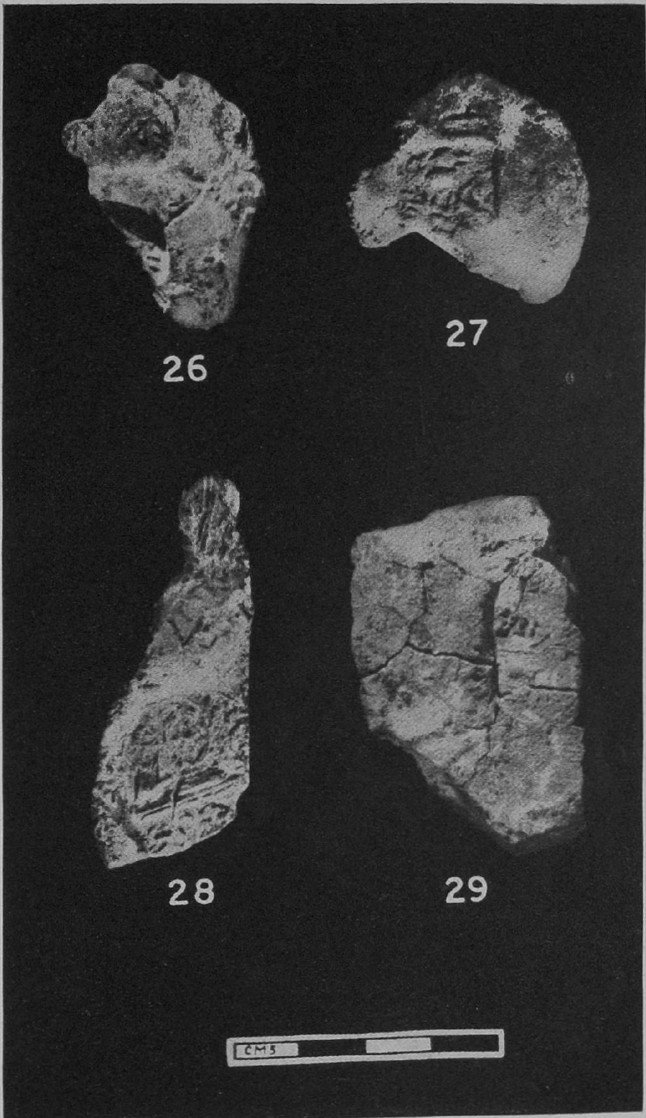


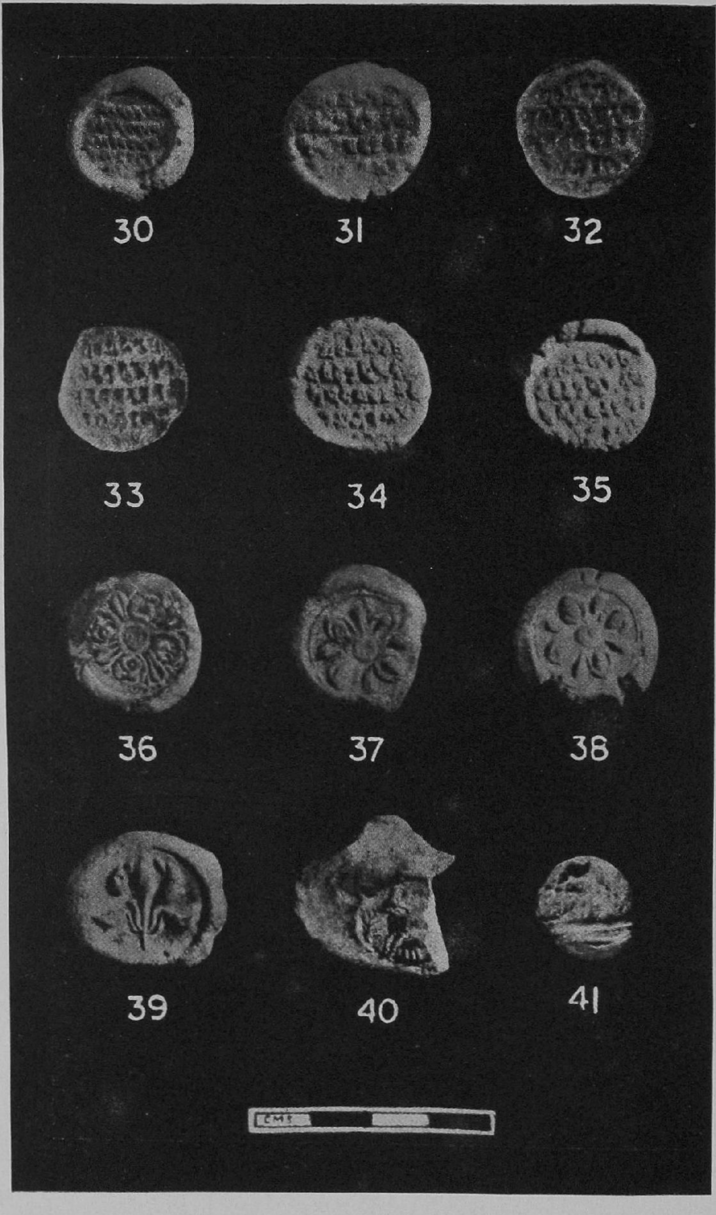
1. Inscribed sealing with *Dharmachakra*-deer motif; 1A. Its cast.
2. Inscribed seal; 2A. Its positive impression.


3
3A
4
5
6
7
8
9
10


11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
CMS

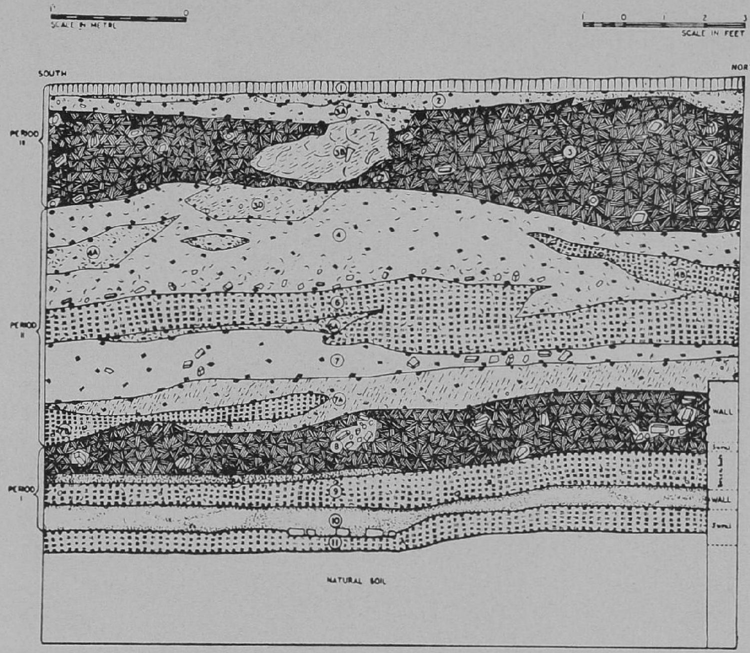

20
20 A
21
22
23
24
25
CMS


26
27
28
29
CMS


30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
CMS

RĀJBĀḌĪDĀṄGĀ 1961-62

TRENCH A_4 SECTION FACING WEST



Journal of the Asiatic Society.
Vol. VIII, No. 1, 1966.

DOCTRINE OF SARVĀSTIVĀDA IN THE LIGHT OF MODERN PHILOSOPHY AND PSYCHOLOGY

By Aruna Haldar

Traditional View of Sarvāstivāda.—All the different schools of Buddhism claim a direct support of their particular line of thought from Buddha's sayings (*Buddhavacana*) on *Anātma* ('Non-soul' theory), *Anitya* ('Non-permanent' theory) and *Anīśvaratva* ('Non-divine cause' theory). The first point may be expounded as a theory of streaming or flowing units put together and appearing like a phenomena of soul or Pudgala, which has no separate existence apart from the flowing units. The second point[1] may be understood as the doctrine of momentariness and impermanence which is inherent in everything.[2(a)] Their third point gives the theory of *Pratītyasamutpāda* or a doctrine of dependent origination.[2(b)] Each of these points has been interpreted by the various schools with partial or complete modification, according to their own philosophy. It is said that Buddha did not accept or deny categorically the existence or non-existence of the objects. It seems that the upholders of Sarvāstivāda claim the negative way of interpreting Buddha's saying, viz. since Buddha did not categorically deny existence of objects, objects exist. This is the basis of the idea *Dravyasat* (Realism) according to Sarvāstivāda philosophy.[3]

It is difficult to get a consistent view of Sarvāstivāda philosophy from the texts. In the *Kathāvatthu*, a controversy was raised by a monk of Sthaviravāda against Sarvāstivādins, i.e. the upholders of Sarvāstivāda. The point of controversy was as to the implication of the term *dharma*. According to Sthaviravāda, *dharma* is only momentary; but, according to Sarvāstivāda, it has existence in the present which is the meeting-point of the past and future phases of time. The upholders of Sarvāstivāda could not thereby clarify their position, nor did they accept their defeat.[4] (See *Kathāvatthu*, ed. Taylor, 1.6, and Point of Controversy, pp. 375–377). Other materials for the study of Sarvāstivāda are mostly obtained from the *Kōśa*, its *bhāṣya* and the *vyākhyā*, written by Yaśōmitra. It is said that the author of the *Kōśa* had Sautrāntika leanings, and Yaśōmitra himself was a monk of the Sautrāntika school. Sarvāstivāda doctrine was criticized by Yaśōmitra in the *vyākhyā*; naturally, therefore, the doctrine of Sarvāstivāda has to be made out from the texts which are in fact critical of it.[5]

Meaning of Sarvāstivāda.—The word Sarvāstivāda may be understood as meaning a doctrine which maintains Reality, i.e. the objective existence,

---

1 (*a*) Anitya vata saṃskārah. *Kōśa*, II, Kā. 47 (*Sphuṭārthā*), p. 106.
(*b*) Vijñaptirnagatirnasat saṃskṛtaṃ kṣaṇikam yataḥ. *Kōśa*, IV, Kā. 2 (*Sphuṭārthā*).

2 (*a*) Nātmāsti skandhamātram tu karmakleśabhi saṃskṛtaṃ. *Kōśa*, III, Kā. 18.
(*b*) Sa pratityasamutpāda dvādaśāṅga-strikāṇḍakaḥ. *Kōśa*, III, Kā. 20.

3 (*a*) Tatra yē yē Sarvāstistvavādinō vāhyaṃ antaraṃ ca
Vastvābhyupagacchanti bhūtaṃ bhautikaṃ ca
Cittaṃ caittaṃ ca tān stāvat pratibrahmaḥ. *Vēdāntadarśana*, 2, 2–18 (*Śārīrakabhāṣya*).
(*b*) Tadastivādāt Sarvāstivādi matah. *Kōśa*, V, Kā. 25 (*Sphuṭārthā*).

4 *Kathāvatthu*, 1–6: (*a*) (Edited by A. C. Taylor); (*b*) Points of controversy, Appendix, pp. 375–377 (by Rhys Davids).

5 Na cāsau pūrvaṃutpādāt kaścidastīti Sautrāntika matēna. *Kōśa*, III, Kā. 28.

in a limited sense, of all the *dharmas* (altogether 75 in number) in the three phases of time. These are temporal (*addhvas*), matter of usage or convention (*kathāvastu*) in the name and form, without substance (*saniḥsāra*) and of dependent origination (*savastuka*). Sarvāstivāda is also knownas 'Sarvaṃastivāda' or 'Sabbathivāda', 'Sarvārthavāda', 'Hetuvāda', 'Muruntaka', etc. The Sarvāstivādī thinkers are distinguished from the 'analysts' or the upholders of Vibhājyavāda. The existence of objects as the meeting-ground of the past, present and future states is sought to be maintained by Sarvāstivāda, through different interpretations of its position, as follows :[1]

(1) *Bhāvanyathātvavāda* (Nature changed, but not the thing) expounded by Dharmatrāta.
(2) *Lakṣaṇānyathātvavāda* (Character changed, but not the thing) expounded by Ghōṣaka.
(3) *Avasthānyathātvavāda* (Mode changed, but not the thing) expounded by Vasumitra.
(4) *Anyathānyathiktvavāda* (Relative changes) expounded by Buddhadeva.

Realistic Trend in Sarvāstivāda.—The realistic trend in Sarvāstivāda may be found in the conception of *rūpa*[2] or matter, the components of *rūpa* or matter, i.e. the four different kinds of the atoms or *paramāṇu*[3] (*kṣiti* or earth-atom, *ap* or water-atom, *tejas* or fire-atom and *vāyu* or air-atom sticking together,[4] in the momentary nature of the object),[5] the lying in of atoms in bunches and the idea of *rūpa* being independent of mind[6] and the *jīvitēndriya* or vitality.[7] The other realistic trends may also be found in the description of the physical nature, geographical distributions of lands and seas and the ideas of space and time, change of seasons, the different timing in the antipodes and increase and decrease in the hours of day and night in relation to the movement of the sun towards the northern and southern directions, and similar ideas (*Kōśa*, III, Kā. 42–62).

Again, according to Sarvāstivāda the constituted objects are made up of 72 *dharmas* which are real for the three phases of time. Here, there is an easy temptation for a student of Buddhist philosophy to interpret this existence as 'realism'; but, in actuality, it is far from realism. The past and future objects are only inferred and not perceived, e.g. the mind

---

1 (*a*) *Kōśa*, V, Kā. 26.
(*b*) *Vide* 'Sarvāstivāda Darśaner Cāriṭi Śākhāmat' (Bengali), by the present writer, Sōmaprakāśa (2nd year, Vol. I, p. 49, 1959).

2 Na vai paramāṇurūpaṃekaṃ pṛthakbhūtaṃ asti (*Sphuṭārthā*) :
(*a*) *Kōśa*, I, Kā. 13.
(*b*) Pṛthakbhūtaṃ asaṃghātā vasthaṃ iti arthah tadṛg nāsti, Saṃghātastha nityam bhavati. *Kōśa*, I, Kā. 13 (*Sphuṭārthā*).

3 Rūpam paṃcēndriyaṇi *arthāh pañca* avijñaptireva ca :
(*a*) *Kōśa*, I, Kā. 9.
(*b*) Pṛthividhāturaptējōvāyudhātava. *Kōśa*, I, Kā. 12 (*Sphuṭārthā*).

4 (*a*) Samcita daśarūpinah. *Kōśa*, I, Kā. 35 (*Sphuṭārthā*).
Na vai paramāṇurūpamēkaṃ pṛthagbhūtamasti. *Kośa*, I, Kā. 13 (*Sphuṭārthā*).
(*b*) Paramāṇusaṃcaya svabhābah. *Kōśa*, I, Kā. 35 (*Sphuṭārthā*).

5 Kṣaṇikāni ca bhūtam rūpatvāt pradīpavat. *Kōśa*, I, Kā. 12 (*Sphuṭārthā*).

6 Rūpinō nava bhautikah. *Kōśa*, I, Kā. 35.
Saṃjñāprabhāvita straya ārūpyah. *Kōśa*, I, Kā. 23 (*Sphutārthā*), p. 56.

7 (*a*) Tasmāt jīvitamusmanō vijñānāsraya cādhāra ucyatē. *Kōśa*, II, Kā. 45 (*Sphuṭārthā*).
(*b*) Upādaya rūpaṃ caturviṃśatividham. *Viśuddhimagga*, edited by D. Kosambi, 14/32–40, p. 309.

or *manōdhātu* forms the object for *manōvijñāna* or awareness of consciousness. The objects which previously existed are now the objects of mind's awareness (*manōdhātu*). Similarly, the future objects remain dormant or unmanifest in the present consciousness. From these facts, it may be suggested that, by upholding reality of the past, present and future objects, the Sarvāstivāda teacher does not mean 'realism' as understood in Western thought.[1]

Limitation of Sarvāstivāda Realism.—Sarvāstivāda thus is not a realism in the Western sense of the term.

For, the realism as a philosophical doctrine puts primary emphasis on the extra-mental existence of things. In Sarvāstivāda, too, we find that *rūpa* or matter remains independent of mind and as the support of consciousness or *citta*. Even in the *ārūpya* stage *rūpa* remains in a subtle form.[2] For, the *saṃskāras* like *jīvitēndriya*, which is material (or *bhautika*), continue even in the *ārūpya* state which is non-material. Again, Sarvāstivāda has got a provision for both *rūpa* and *citta*. It may seem, from the above arguments, that the realism is one of the main tenets of Sarvāstivāda but, in actuality, the theory cannot be interpreted as realism *par excellence*. For, according to Sarvāstivāda, the continuity between the two births is actually maintained by the *saṃskāras* (or impressions) which are subtle and mental. It is evident, then, that Sarvāstivāda emphasized idealism as well.

Idealism in Sarvāstivāda.—So, on the other hand, the idealism can be inferred in Sarvāstivāda philosophy from the conceptions like 'Antarabhāva' (intermediary state)[3] which is a subtle constitution of the *saṃskāra* or the impressions. The mind or *citta* includes all the associations (*smṛti*, etc.) and sensations (*vijñānas*), impressions (*saṃskāras*) and perception (*saṃjñā*). The *pratisandhi citta* (intermediary mind seeking rebirth) gradually becomes attached to the various other complex mental functions both during the prenatal and postnatal stages. Thus, the 'birth to death' and 'death to birth' cycles are inherent in some form of impressions (*saṃskāras*) which are mental in nature.

The subtle existence of the dynamic continuity of a being (*bhavāṅga citta*) is found in the trance state (*samādhi*), in sleep (*suṣupti*), in senselessness (*mūrchā*) and in death (*cyuti*). It may be said that the direct bearing of this continuity is mental.[4] It may be added that some of the faculties (or *indriyas*) are also internal (or *ādhyātmika*).[5]

Atomism and Sarvāstivāda.—According to Sarvāstivāda, the constituted matter is made up of the atoms (*paramāṇus*) which remain in a cluster. But, at the same time, it should be remembered that there are *dharmas*

---

[1] (*a*) *Realistic Tendencies in Recent Philosophy*, XXX, pp. 593–614. *A History of Philosophy*—F. Thilly (3rd impression).

(*b*) *The Central Conception of Buddhism* (Appendix)—Prof. T. Stcherbatsky, pp. 76–91.

(*c*) La Vallée Poussin's Translation of the *Kōśa*, KV, 25–27.

[2] (*a*) Tatō vijñānamēva syāt ālamvanabhāvāt iti. *Vyākhyā*—Japanese edition, p. 469.

(*b*) Saṃjñā prabhāvitastraya ārūpyah. *Kōśa*, I, Kā. 22 (*Sphuṭārthā*).

[3] Nātmāsti skandhamātram tu karmakleśābhisaṃskṛtam
Antarābhāvasantatya kukṣimēti pradīpavat. *Kōśa*, III, Kā. 18 (*Sphuṭārthā*).

[4] (*a*) *Visuddhimagga*, 14/107–115—edited by D. Kosambi:
'Patisamdhiviññane . . . Bhavaṅgaviññanām nāma pavattati.'

(*b*) Yadyāpi sa maraṇāvastha mandikā citta caitta samudācārasya apaṭutvat. *Kōśa*, III, Kā. 36–38 (*Sphuṭārthā*).

[5] Dvādaśanāmādhyātmikanam cakṣurādāyah pañca svanāmōktaḥ. *Bhāṣya*, p. 37; *Kōśa*, I, Kā. 48.

or reals other than the atoms. Thus, the Sarvāstivāda theory of atomism is something different from Greek atomism and Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika atomism on the one hand and, on the other hand, the system differs from Leibnitz's monadism or spiritual atomism. Sarvāstivāda cannot be categorized as dualism either, as one finds in Sāṃkhya-Yōga system of dualistic pluralism (theory of one *prakṛti* and many *puruṣas*). Sarvāstivāda, as a branch of Buddhist philosophy, denounces the theory of God as the *deus ex machina* or a deistic theory which can be found both in the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika theory and Leibnitz's monadism. Sarvāstivāda is mainly a pluralistic doctrine which maintains pluralism of the *dharmas* out of which the entire world is constituted. Thus, the *dharmas* are different from the atoms or *paramāṇus*. The *dharmas* are 75 in number and include the 11 *rūpa* items (or matter), besides *citta* (mind), 46 *caittas* (or the derivatives of mind), and 14 *citta-viprayuktas* (dissociated from the mind) and three *asaṃskṛtas* (or the unconstituted *dharmas*). So, in this sense, Sarvāstivāda pluralism is different from the other pluralistic doctrines, e.g. Greek atomism, Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika atomism and monadism.

Pluralism in Sarvāstivāda.—The modern theory of pluralistic universe was of course unknown at the time when the *Kōśa* was written. But, its plan of constitution of matter and mind composition reminds us of some of the ideas of modern science. These ancient thinkers had no fixed idea for any rigid concept, e.g. soul or anything. This means that these thinkers somehow rightly understood the organistic idea of the individual and his relationship to environment, both of which would change from moment to moment along with their changing relationship. Their ultimate nothingness of course is not a modern postulate; but even a modern physicist cannot possibly deny the unknown nature of noumena which is beyond the reach of the phenomenal knowledge.[1]

Ideas of Hume, Mill and Sarvāstivāda.—The idea of constitution *saṃskṛta* (*saṃskāra* = 'impression') may be compared with some of the ideas of Hume, the associationist, and Mill, the positivist philosopher. According to Hume, there is no fixed object like matter or mind or soul substance. Matter, according to Hume, is a name for the streaming and flowing of units in quick succession which produces illusions of a continuous one. Mind is a name for the successive trains of associations which are too quick to be caught. The different objects are all but compositions of these innumerable and changeful units. Similarly, there is no soul or a fixed causal relation here. According to Mill, the world is a 'permanent possibility'. The term 'constituted' or *saṃskṛta* also to a great extent is a 'hypothetical real', a substitute for the changing pattern of the *dharmas* which exist for the past, present and future. The 'associations' can be taken to be close synonyms for the *saṃskāras* (the *caittas* and the *citta-viprayuktas*). In many a way, Sarvāstivāda philosophy seems to resemble to a great extent what Hume says.

Neo-realism and Sarvāstivāda.—The neo-realism as a system of thought is a later development and a meeting-point of idealism and realism both. There are at least three different expositions of neo-realism, one of which is neutralism. The *dharmas* are different from the neutral staff which, according to neutralism, may be compounded into matter, mind, life or soul. But another exposition of neo-realism has been given by Bertrand Russel in his *Problems of Philosophy*. According to this standpoint,

---

[1] (*a*) Saṃghātastham nityaṃ bhavati. *Kōśa*, I, Kā. 13 (*Sphuṭārthā*).
(*b*) Kṣaṇikānām nāsti deśāntaragamanaṃ yatraiva utpatti-statraiva vināśah. *Kōśa*, I, Kā. 12 (*Sphuṭārthā*).

the object is a sum total of all its perspectives. Sensation is a relative process where both the sense-data and sensum are combined into a pattern of subject-object relationship. Sarvāstivāda seems to hold a similar view while explaining the different objects as the different patterns of combination of *rūpa* and *citta* (mind).[1]

Spatio-temporal Nature of Things According to Sarvāstivāda.—According to another section of neo-realistic thinkers, an object's life is a meeting-point of the past, present and future. This object is a space-time or object-subject presentation in a moment; this moment is unique a presentation in eternity or infinity and is descended as an eternal present or 'specious present'.[2]

These views are mentioned here for a better analysis of Sarvāstivāda position which holds that an object exists for the three phases of time (past, present and future) although it is momentary. Evidently, these two ideas seem to involve an apparent contradiction. That, however, can be clarified as follows.[3] It is said that the objects or the *dravyas* are momentary (*kṣaṇika*) although the *dharmas* or their components are reals for the past and present and future phases. But the idea of an object continuing for the three phases of time as is found in the Nyāya philosophy does not occur. The Naiyāyikas hold that every object is characterized by origin (*utpatti*), duration (*sthiti*) and decay (*vyaya*). In Buddhism there is no provision for duration (*sthiti*). It may be inferred from all these ideas that, although the Buddhists believed in general momentariness of the objects, they had to get reconciled to the idea of the objects existing in the relative past (*atīta addhava*), the relative present (*pratyutpanna addhava*) and the relative future (*anāgata addhava*) phases of time. This idea should not be understood in the light of a continuous object for the three phases of time as the Nyāya philosophy would have it. This temporal character of the *dharmas* may be understood partially in the light or relativism of modern science.[4]

---

[1] (*a*) Viśeṣanārthaṃ prādhānyāt vahudharmāgrasaṃgrahāt
Ekamāyatanaṃ rūpamēkam dharmākhyamucyate. *Kōśa*, I, Kā. 24.
(*b*) Tāni vāng nāma vā iti eṣam
Rūpasaṃskārasaṃgraha. *Kōśa*, I, Kā. 25.

[2] (*a*) Asya hi atītādilakṣaṇavṛttilabhāpēkṣōvyāvahāra iti
Pūrvakadbhedāh. *Pañjikā*, p. 504.
(*b*) *Space, Time and Deity*—Alexander.
(*c*) La Vallée Poussin's *L'Abhidharmakōśa*, Chapter II, p. 232.

[3] (*a*) Ta evādhva kathāvastu saniḥsārah savastukah. *Kōśa*, I, Kā. 7.
(*b*) Nityēṣu nityamēkatvaṃ anityaḥ nityamṣiyatē
Dvitvādayah parārdhānta apekṣābuddhijā mataḥ
Anēkāsraya paryāpta ētē tu parikīrtitaḥ
Apekṣābuddhināśācca nāśastēṣāṃ nirūpitaḥ. *Bhāṣāpariccheda*, p. 420, edited by P. Sastri.

(*c*) Est-il, Jamais arrive aux Abhidharmika de donner L'activite comme paseeoufuture, L'element futur quand Lactivite est nee est nomme 'present'; l'element present, quand, L'activite a pris fin, est nomme 'passe'. L'objection elst-elle justifiec ? Te ne dispas que le (passeet le futur auent aussi activite: On ne pent donc me critiquer (en disant que, d' activite eest donc, que l'activite existe apres existence ? car lactivite existe seulement dans le present. *Instant et Cause*, p. 267 (Par L. Silburn).

(*d*) Pour le Sautrantika an contrare les elements passes et futurs we sout pass des, conditionne (Saṃskāra) quisquiti n' ont ni debut in fin caracteres due conditionne et c'est pour cette raison quils n'existent past'. *M.C.B.*, V, p. 122 (Par L. Silburn).

(*e*) Les elements passes et futurs sont egalement conditionnes (Saṃskṛta):

Le Sarvāstivāda in donne ici an terme Saṃskara une signification quiltillement efficiente et, par consequente presente quil est encore pour le sautrāñtika—car en ce le passi ne saurait itre un saṃskāra. *Instant et Cause*, p. 271 (Par L. Silburn).

[4] Asya pūrvaparāpekṣō vyāvahārah, yasya pūrvameva asti nāparah so'nagatah, yasya pūrvaṃasti' aparaṃca savartamānah, yasya paramēva na pūrvaṃ s'ōtītah. *Pañjikā*, p. 504.

The constituents of *rūpa* (matter) are spatial in the sense that they occupy some space and do not allow other *rūpa* (matter) to occupy the same space. The infinite space is *ākāśa* which is *asaṃskṛta* or unconstituted. This idea of space reminds us of the idea of distinction between the empty space and filled space according to Descartes. *Ākāśa* as such remains an unconstituted (*asaṃskṛta*) or possibly unlimited and uncovered ground for the constituted objects which are spatial in nature (*sapratigha rūpa*).[1]

It is difficult to identify Sarvāstivāda completely with any particular position of any school of modern philosophy or science. Moreover, it is not desirable to equate a purely scientific theory with a Buddhist branch of philosophy which has got a totally different outlook and objective and background. No branch of Buddhism would intentionally go for purely scientific interest. The investigation or explanation is only an incidental study, a means to the end of *nirvāṇa* only and comes in course of preparations for the same. It may be said that there lies a negligible difference between a half-rational philosophy and a half-finished science. The scientific discussions of the *Kōśa* are based on the medical, biological and psychological findings of the times, arrived at as a result of the rational attitude and enquiries. That hardly can stand the test of modern critical examination imposed by scientific philosophy and the test of experimental sciences.

Critical Examination.—Thus, Sarvāstivāda philosophy cannot be categorically classified as either realism or idealism. It seems that Sarvāstivāda indicates a kind of phenomenalism of so-called matter and an associationism of so-called *mind*, and a complex formation of both, which are found together in various forms. (A study of modern phenomenology can be found in Husserl's work).[2]

(*a*) Thus, the phenomena of matter are found in 11 kinds of *rūpa* or matter and their variations (e.g. *jīvita* or vitality).

(*b*) A mind-associationism is found in the idea of *citta* (mind), *caitta* (*saṃskāras*), *cittaviprayukta* (*saṃskāras*), *saṃjñā* (perception) and *vijñāna* (sensation). The *citta* is supposed to be the lord among others which form its family.[3]

(*c*) There is a conception of change and dynamism of the complex pattern, and reality of momentary existence. This view indicates an evolutional character of all phenomenal existence.

(*d*) A complex of matter and mind together appear as the phenomena of personality (*pudgala*), which, following a conscious practice, may undergo a thorough change and achieve perfection. It reminds us of a conscious control exerted over the entire organism (mind-body complex) in the process of deconditioning and reconditioning (cf. *ātmagrāha dṛṣti*).[4]

(*e*) The idea of existence for a moment and ending at the very next moment may be epistemologically understood as an abstract process of dialectics as is the nature of everything in this universe. The real picture of a thing is best appreciated in its 'being' and 'not being', put dialectically

---

[1] (*a*) Rūpaṃ pañcēndriyāṇi arthaḥ pañcā avijñāptirevaca. *Kōśa*, I, Kā. 10.
(*b*) Phenomenology of Husserl.

[2] (*a*) *A History of Philosophy*, by F. Thilly, p. 598.
(*b*) *Logical Investigations*, by Husserl.

[3] Apitu dharma pravicayakālē prajñā cittasyāpi sarvasya kalāpasya rājāyatē. *Kōśa*, I, Kā. 2 (*Sphuṭārthā*).

[4] (*a*) Kēcit caittēṣu saṃmuḍhaḥ piṇḍātmāgrahaṇaṭah
Kēcit rūpa ēva, kēcit rūpacittayōh. *Bhāṣya*, p. 14; *Kōśa*, I, Kā. 20.
(*b*) Cittamahankāraniśraya iti ātmā iti upacaryatē. *Kōśa*, I, Kā. 39 (*Sphuṭārthā*).

together and having a relative synthesis in the infinite 'becoming', as Hegel and Marx would suggest.[1] But, at the same time, Sarvāstivāda, being a system of Buddhist thought, does not put any emphasis on any metaphysical reality of this dynamic 'becoming'. The system rather finally emphasizes *nirvāṇa* (or cessation of becoming), a process diametrically opposite to the phenomena of change. This emphasis on *nirvāṇa* categorically determines the evanescent and phenomenal character of all knowledge and all existence according to Sarvāstivāda.[2]

Buddhist Conception of *Dharma* and its Psychological Significance

Vasubandhu states at the beginning of his work that *Abhidharmakōśa* is the gist of *Abhidharma*. *Abhidharma*, he explains again, is an analytical study of the nature of all *dharmas* (reals), of the different means for attaining *prajñā* (real knowledge), e.g. purified mind, perfect knowledge, etc.[3] *Abhidharma* may thus be taken to be an amalgamated study of psychology, metaphysics and ethics according to the Buddhist faith. For, the Buddhists are of opinion that it is not possible for an individual to know the real unless it is discriminated from the worldly states which are unreal.[4]

Meaning of Dharma.—According to the Vaibhāṣika thinkers, *dharmas* mean the 'reals' which are temporal in nature and subject to time.[5] Thus, the *dharmas* exist in the present which is the meeting-point of its 'pastness' and 'future potentiality'. These build up the whole world (*lōka*) and the objects (*vastu*), and combine into various forms of matter (*rūpa*) and mind (*citta*)[6] and the personality-phenomena (*pudgala*). This is the most prominent sense in which the *dharma* is used. These *dharmas* are not understood to signify any permanent substance (*nitya dravya*). For the Buddhists, unlike the exponents of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika and Vedanta systems, denounce the possibility of a permanent reality. These 'reals' of the Sarvāstivādins are not identifiable with 'things-in-themselves' which are recognized as extramental postulates by the German philosopher Kant. For unlike the Kantian postulates, which are only extramental, *dharmas* or 'reals' are both extramental and mental in nature. These are comparable to a great extent with the 'hypothetical reals' which are accepted as some form of postulates in present-day science or mathematics. It may be suggested that the *dharmas* are the hypothetical reals and abstract postulates though these lie at the basis of all concrete phenomena.

It is on the basis of such interpretation of the term *dharma* or real, that some Western scholars of Buddhism hold the opinion that the philosophy of Sarvāstivāda may be recognized as a kind of realism. Professor Stcherbatsky

---

[1] Kṣaṇikānāṃ nāsti deśāntaragamanaṃ
Yatraiva utpattistraiva vināśaḥ, tenaivaṃ
ucyatē deśāntarōtpādanasvabhāva bhūta-
Srōtasaḥ iraṇa kṣaṇikatvāt pradīpavat. *Kōśa*, I, Kā. 12 (*Sphuṭārthā*).

[2] Sa punaḥ sarvaduḥkha upaśama
Nirvāṇa pariprapaṇa svabhāva. *Kōśa*, I, Kā. 1, p. 6 (*Sphuṭārthā*).

[3] Prajñāmāla sānucarābhidharma
Tatprāptayē yāpica yaccaśāstraṃ. *Kōśa*, I, Kā. 2.

[4] Dharmāṇāṃ pravicayaṃ antarēṇa nāsti
Klēśānaṃ yata upaśāntayē abhiupāyah. *Kōśa*, I, Kā. 3.

[5] (*a*) Ta evāddhva kathāvastu saniḥsāra savastukah. *Kōśa*, I, Kā. 7.
(*b*) Dukkhaṃ samudayō lōkō, dṛṣṭisthānaṃ bhāvaśca tē. *Kōśa*, I, Kā. 8.

[6] (*a*) Rūpaskandhena manaāyatanena dharmadhātuna ca
Sarvadharmāṇāṃ saṃgrahah. *Kōśa*, I, Kā. 18; *Bhāṣya*, p. 12.
(*b*) Ahamkarasamniśraya ātmā iti. *Kōśa*, I, Kā. 39.

says that Buddha's arguments against the determinism of Ājīvika sects and denial of the existence of the past lead to the inference that Buddha admitted the existence of the reals.[1]

Buddha maintained that all things are reducible to *dharmas* or subtle existents or *saṃskāra samūha* (mass of impressions).[2] The term *dharma* has been used in a varied sense. The meaning of the *dharmas* is, therefore, to be taken from their functional applications, and from application in different contexts. Realism, as understood in Western philosophy, cannot possibly be ascribed to the doctrinal significance of Sarvāstivāda.

Classification of Dharma.—All *dharmas* are divided into two categories, viz. 'pure' (*anāsrava*) and 'impure' (*sāsrava*).

Pure *dharmas* are the three unconstituted (*asaṃskṛta*) *dharmas*. The three unconstituted *dharmas* are:

(*a*) *Ākāśa* or infinite space (*anāvṛti*).[3]
(*b*) *Pratisaṃkhyā nirōdha* or cessation of becoming by knowledge which destroys impurities one by one.[4]
(*c*) *Apratisaṃkhyā nirōdha* or cessation of becoming (of impurities) by means other than knowledge (*pratisaṃkhyā*) or by means of mystic experiences reached through elaborate ethical and esoteric activities (*sādhanā*).

All constituted objects (*saṃskṛta*), excepting *mārgasatya* which is regarded as pure, are impure (*sāsrava*). These constitute the field of impurities. The phenomenal world is made up of 72 items of *saṃskṛta* (constituted) *dharma*. The real nature of the *dharmas* in their proper perspectives is determined by *Abhidharma*.[5]

The *saṃskṛta-dharmas* or *skandhas* (compositions of constituents) are pure by nature. They become impure when they form a constituted being (*pudgala*), when *skandhas* are qualified as *upādāna-skandha*, which are always impure and are sources of conflict (*saraṇa*). They are causes of suffering and subject to suffering.[6] They are equated with the world of existence (*bhava*), bases of wrong views (*dṛṣṭisthānaṃ*) and birth (*janma*).

Sāsrava-dharmas according to *Abhidharmakōśa*

The 72 *saṃskṛta-dharmas* (constituted) are classified under four different categories, viz.

(*a*) *Rūpa* (matter): 11 items.
(*b*) *Citta* (mind): one item.
(*c*) *Caitta, cittasaṃprayukta* (mind-derivatives, mind-associated): 46 items.
(*d*) *Citta-viprayukta* (mind-dissociated): 14 items.

---

1 (*a*) *The Central Conception of Buddhism*, by T. Stcherbatsky, p. 4.
(*b*) *Saṃyuktāgama*, XIII, p. 16 (Mcgovern).
(*c*) *Buddhist Psychology*, by Rhys Davids, p. 41.
(*d*) *Visuddhimagga*, Chap. XIV.

2 (*a*) Sāsravānāsravā dharmāh saṃskṛtā mārgavarjitāh. *Kōśa*, I, Kā. 4; *Bhāṣya*, p. 3.
(*b*) *Ibid.*, I(*a*).

3 Tatrākāśaṃ anāvṛti. *Kōśa*, I, Kā. 5.

4 Pratisaṃkhyā nirōdhō yō visamyōgaḥ pṛthak pṛthak. *Kōśa*, I, Kā. 6.

5 Tasya arthatō asmin samanupraveśāt
Sa cāśraya asya iti *Abhidharmakōśaṃ*. *Kōśa*, I, Kā. 2.

6 Yē sāsravā upādānaskandhāstē saraṇā api
Dukkhaṃ samudayō lōkō, dṛṣṭisthānaṃ bhāvaśca te. *Kōśa*, I, Kā. 8.

It is also said in the *Kōśa* that all *dharmas* mentioned above can be classified within *rūpa-skandha* (matter-formation/composition), *mana-āyatana* (mind-base) and *dharma-dhātu* (non-sensuous element).[1] This classification, however, has been held by W. M. Mcgovern, a Western scholar of Buddhism, as subjective classification.[2] *Dharmas* mentioned above are also classified differently as *dharma-skandha* (mass of reals) and *dharma-āyatana-dharma-dhātu* (non-sensuous real-base and non-sensuous element).[3] The last two classifications indicate that the Buddhists understood *dharma* as some abstract potentials or hypothetical 'reals' which underlie every other concrete compositions and manifest forms.

Different Form of Applications of *Dharma*

The 72 *dharmas* (reals) mentioned above are grouped as either *skandha* (mass or composition) or *āyatana* (base or extent) or *dhātu* (element-potential). The *dharmas* are not understood by all persons in the same way, and so they are described differently by different persons, according to their inclinations.

The individuals vary in their power of grasping (*mōha*), capacity (*indriya*) and interest (*ruci*). Thus, the individuals are broadly classified into the above three classes. (*a*) Individuals, differing in knowability, may be of three different types.[4] Some of these develop a confused knowledge about a false and spiritual self (*ātmā*), which is nothing but a composition of mind-derivatives (*caitta*). Some others may be led to think in a confused manner that everything is matter (*rūpa*). The third type of individuals might develop a confusion with regard to both mind (*citta*) and matter (*rūpa*). The first group of individuals are to be instructed in terms of *skandha* (composition); the second group in terms of *āyatana* (base or extent); the third group in terms of *dhātu* (element-potential). (*b*) Again, individuals differ from one another in the capacity of their faculties. Thus, individuals may be classified into three more groups. Some of these are of sharp (*tīkṣṇa*) sensibility; some are of medium (*madhya*) sensibility; and some are of dull or low (*mṛdu*) sensibility. The first, second and the third groups of individuals of group (*b*) receive instructions about the *dharmas* in terms of *skandha* (composition), *āyatana* (base or extent) and *dhātu* (element-potential) respectively. (*c*) Lastly, individuals vary in their interest or taste. Thus, individuals may develop a taste for either brief (*saṃkṣipta*) or medium (*madhya*) or elaborate (*vistāra*) instructions. Accordingly, these individuals varied nature of brief, medium and elaborate taste are suitably instructed in terms of *skandha* (composition), *āyatana* (base or extent) and *dhātu* (element-potential) respectively.[5]

The *Skandhas*

Skandhas *as described in the* Kōśa.—The *skandhas* may be translated as composition, collection or formation. The *skandha* has been interpreted

---

[1] Rūpaskandhēna, mana āyatanēna dharmadhātunā ca
Sarvadharmāṇāṃ saṃgraha vōddhavyaḥ. *Bhāṣya*, p. 12; *Kōśa*, I, Kā. 18.

[2] *Manual of Buddhist Philosophy*, by W. Mcgovern, pp. 103–128.

[3] (*a*) Dharmaskandha sahasrāṇi. *Kōśa*, I, Kā. 25.
(*b*) Dharmāyatanadhātvākhyāh saha avijñapti asaṃskṛtaih. *Kōśa*, I, Kā. 16.

[4] Tasyāyadvaragotrarthāh skandhāyatanādhātavah
Mōhēndriyarucitraidhāt tisrah skandhadideśanāh. *Kōśa*, I, Kā. 20.

[5] (*a*) Carita pratipakṣastu dharmaskandha anuvarṇitāh. *Kōśa*, I, Kā. 26.
(*b*) *Ibid.* (42).

in the *Kōśa*[1] as *rāśī* (or collection).[2] There are five classes of *skandhas*. All the 72 *dharmas* can be grasped under these five classes of *skandha*. It is said that all the *saṃskṛta-dharmas* (or the constituted elements) are the constituted forms of the five *skandhas*.[3] These *skandhas* are described as *addhava* (or having existence in past, present and future phases of time), *kathāvastu* (conventionally significant)[4] and *saniḥsāra* (changing environment) and *savastuka* (caused).

Different Classes of Skandha.—There are five *skandhas*, viz.

(1) *Rūpa-skandha* (the matter-formation/composition).
(2) *Vēdanā* (the feeling-formation/composition).
(3) *Saṃjñā* (the perception-formation/composition).
(4) *Vijñāna* (the consciousness-formation/composition).
(5) *Saṃskāra* (the impression-formation/composition).

The order of presentation of the *skandhas* is psychologically significant. The *rūpa* or matter being the manifest (*audarika*) comes first; the *vedanā* or associated feeling tone comes next. The *saṃjñā* or perception which is more definite occurs then. Next appears the determined or perceived consciousness of *vijñāna* in general. Then the *vijñānas* or consciousness as such are pushed into *saṃskāras* or mass-apperception or root-impressions.

Rūpa-skandha (or Matter-formation)

Rūpa *or Matter Explained.*—The *rūpa-skandha* or matter-formation includes five sense-organs, their five respective fields and *avijñapti* (non-mentaux). These five sense-organs are the seats of five respective *vijñānas* (consciousness). *Rūpa* thus is the composition or formation of all matter including both the concrete or manifest (*prasāda rūpa*) and subtle (*sūkṣma*) items.

Rūpa is classified into colour and form and their different variations. These *rūpa* items are long, short, round, circular, high, low, wide and very wide. The *rūpa* items of colours are red, blue, yellow, white and other colours like smoke, dust, mist, shadow, sunlight and darkness. *Rūpa* also consists of eight kinds of sounds which may be agreeable and not

---

[1] Triprakāra kila santīvānām mohaḥ. Kēcit caittesu
Samudhaḥ piṇḍātmgrahaṇataḥ. Kēcit rūpa ēva.
Kēcit rūpa-cittayōh. Indriyāṇi api trividhāṇi
Tīkṣṇamadhya-mṛdvindriyatvāt. Rucirapi
Trividhā saṃkṣipta madhya vistaragrantha
rucitvāt. Tēṣāṃ yathākramaṃ tisraḥ
Skandhāyatana dhātu deśanā iti. *Kōśa*, I. Kā. 20; *Bhāṣya*, p. 14.

[2] (*a*) Samētya saṃbhūya pratyayaiḥ kṛta. *Kōśa*, I, Kā. 7; *Bhāṣya*, p. 4.
(*b*) Tē punah saṃskṛta dharma rūpādi skandha pañcakaṃ. *Kōśa*, I, Kā. 7.

[3] (*a*) Rūpa-skandhaḥ, vēdanā-skandhaḥ, saṃjñā-skandhaḥ
Saṃskāra-skandhaḥ, vijñāna-skandhāḥscētē saṃskṛta
Dharmaḥ. *Kōśa*, I, Kā. 7; *Bhāṣya*, p. 5.
(*b*) Dans cette hypothese comme le monade ne peut avoir
la qualite detre un amas ne dites pas quo
skandha signify 'amas'.
D'apres rene autre opinion (Vibhāṣā, 79),
Skandha signifie ce qui porte le tardeau a
savoir son effect; ou bien skandha signific
partie section (Pracchēda Avadhi). *L'Abhidharmakosa*—Par Louis De La Vallée Poussin, Chapter Premier, p. 38.

[4] Ta ēva saṃskṛta gatagacchadgāmisyād bhāvād addhvānah. *Kōśa*, I, Kā. 7; *Bhāṣya*, p. 5.

agreeable. *Rūpa* includes six kinds of taste items, viz. sweet, sour, saline, bitter, astringent and pungent. The *rūpa* items recognized as smell are of four kinds—good, bad, strong and mild. The *rūpa* objects known as *sparṣṭavya* are of four kinds. These are ultimate properties of water, air, fire and earth; and seven kinds of constituted objects which are smoothness, roughness, heaviness, lightness, coldness, hunger and thirst. The last item of *rūpa* is *avijñapti* (non-mentaux or non-information) which originates in *rūpa* and is devoid of consciousness.[1]

The four ultimate properties—water, air, fire and earth—are characterized by collection (*saṃgraha*), motion (*vyuhana*), maturation (*pāka*) and capacity to bear (*dhṛti*). Their speciality is indicated by humidity, motion, heat and hardness in case of water, air, fire and earth respectively.[2]

The five faculties or sense-organs, the faculties of male and female organs and the faculty of vitality are the different constituted forms of *rūpa* or matter.

Thus, *rūpa-skandha* or matter in a wider sense indicates all possible pictures of combinations of what can be recognized as external to 'mind' or *citta*. *Rūpa* in the limited sense denotes all matter items which are visible. *Rūpa* or matter, noted from the viewpoint of the Buddhists, however, may be mainly recognized as something resistible (*sapratigha*) or obstructing in nature. *Rūpa* is also described as the support of mind or *citta* (*ālaṃvana*), both in manifest and subtle forms.

It may be pointed out that only the portions of *rūpa-skandha* relevant to its examination from the point of view of modern psychology have been given here. An elaborate discussion of *rūpa-skandha* is not possible within the limited space. Even then, it has to be said that it is difficult to maintain a clear-cut separation of the *rūpa* or matter and *citta* or mind. For, it is evident from the treatment of Buddhist psychology that matter (*rūpa*) and mind (*citta*) are inseparably harnessed together in both knowing and being. For the present, however, relatively more emphasis is being put on the other *skandhas* which mainly deal with internal facts of mind's functioning.

The *skandhas* other than *rūpa* are feeling (*vēdanā*), perception (*saṃjñā*), consciousness (*vijñāna*) and impression (*saṃskāra*), which all call for further examination and analysis. These four are recognized as internal; for, all these function in and through the mind (*citta*). Feeling, perception and impression are together recognized as non-sensuous base (*dharma-āyatana*) and non-sensuous element (*dharma-dhātu*). Consciousness is recognized as mind base (*mana-āyatana*) and consists of seven kinds of mind-elements including *manōdhātu*.[3]

Co-operation of the Skandhas.—*Dharmas* or the 'hypothetical reals' are combined into the five forms of compositions (*skandhas*). These *dharmas* then build up all the knowing phenomena or the personality and the external world. Thus, *dharmas* represent the subject and object of knowledge and also the internality and externality of nature. *Dharmas* are recognizable as metaphysical entities and epistemological functioning. The *Dharmas* are to be grouped then in relation to their relative functions and not according to any rigid picture of matter and mind. For, the same

---

[1] Vikṣiptacittakasyāpi yō anubandha śubhāśubbāh
Mahābhūtāni upādaya sa hi avijñāptirucyate. *Kōśa*, I, Kā. 11.

[2] Bhūtāni pṛthivīdhāturaptejōvāyudhātavaḥ
Dhṛtyādi karmasaṃsiddhāh kharasnehauṣñateranāh. *Kōśa*, I, Kā. 12.

[3] Vijñānaṃ prativijñāptih mana āyatanaṃ ca tat
Dhātavaḥ sapta ca matāh ṣad vijñānāni athō manāh. *Kōśa*, I, Kā. 16.

object may be represented as either a matter-form (*rūpa*) or a mind-form (*nāma*) or both in their relative prominence.[1]

Co-operation of the *skandhas* may be found, for example, in the expressions like *rūpa-saṃjñā* (matter-perception) or *indriya* (sense-faculty). *Rūpa-saṃjñā* (or image) is a matter-mind composite. Some *indriyas* (sense-faculty), although constituted by the ultimate properties (*bhautika*), are supposed to be internal (*ādhyātmika*). There are ideas like 'support of consciousness' (*ālaṃvana*) which are relatively more objective than 'concept' (*prajñāpti*). Concept (*prajñāpti*) is relatively more subjective than the former and is of mental make-up. Thus, it may be stated that experience of a phenomenon consists of both matter (*rūpa*) and mind (*citta* or *nāma*), or it may be said that phenomenal object consists of a dialectically-arranged pattern of both external and internal objects.[2]

It has been stated that all the *skandhas* other than *rūpa-skandha* (matter-composition) work in and through the *citta* or mind only. The physical basis of the personality formation (of *rāśipudgala*) is the *rūpa* or matter and its mental elements are represented by four other *skandhas*. Thus, another briefer classification has been suggested in the *Kōśa* (1.25) for the *skandhas*. It is said that all the constituted may be classified under two classes of *skandhas*, viz. *nāma* and *rūpa*. The entire physical world is represented by *rūpa* or matter and *nāma* which is mental in nature. Name and form together produce the compositions of all possible knowing and being.

Ordinarily, the universe and the individual may be represented as constituted by the external and internal, i.e. matter-elements and mind-elements. Evidently, these ancient thinkers did not think anything as exceptional, while thinking in terms of *nāma* or *rūpa*. The concept of *rāśipudgala* or personality-formation as constituted by both *rūpa* (matter) and *citta* (mind) reminds us of a parallel conception of personality as a mind-body complex from the point of view of modern psychology. A particular class of *saṃskāras* (*caitta*, for example) may be represented as all the objective states of cognition, emotion and volition. On the other hand, the other class of *saṃskāras* (dissociated from mind) may be compared with the world of habitual actions, dynamic and unconscious nature and learning by conditioning. In a sense, *saṃskāras* build up the entire psycho-physiological nature of the personality. The *Vijñāna-skandha*, on the other hand, includes the internal faculties and the sensations produced therein. Thus, *saṃjñā-skandha*, *vēdanā-skandha*, *vijñāna-skandha* and *saṃskāra-skandha* together constitute the psycho-physiological aspects of the personality.

All these ideas indicate that the ancient thinkers of Sarvāstivāda Buddhism tried to approach the human being as a whole and tried to follow the birth, growth and decay of the same represented in terms of the five *skandhas* or five different compositions. These thinkers thought that the *rūpa-skandha* consists of all of the sense-data; the *saṃjñā-skandha* determines the nature of *dharma* (or real); *vēdanā* includes past, present and future feeling. The *saṃskāra-skandha* includes 46 subjective, specific states of mind-derivations (or *caittas*) and 14 generic and objective attitudes (or *citta-viprayuktas*). The *vijñāna-skandha* includes the different mental functions, viz. *citta* (mind), *manas* (reason), *vijñāna* (consciousness), etc., and all the special types of consciousness.

---

[1] Tāni vaṇgānama va iti esam rūpa saṃskāra saṃgrahaḥ. *Kōśa*, I, Kā. 25.

[2] Ekamāyatanaṃ rūpamēkaṃ dharmākhyaṃ ucyatē. *Kōśa*, I, Kā. 24.

The above order of presentation of the *skandhas*, however, reminds us of some of the theories of modern psychology. Matter forms the object of consciousness. Contact of the sense-organ with the object results in instantaneous stimulation or reaction on the part of the receiving organs. This process is accompanied by some feeling-tone which is associated with every organic reaction. A definite and interpreted reaction is known as perception of a particular and special object. Perception may be followed by a sense of awareness or consciousness. Then this entire process is withdrawn from the present consciousness and remains stored in the background of association or apperception. Thus, the Buddhist conceptions of *rūpa* may be understood in the light of object of consciousness, e.g. *vēdanā* as the feeling-tone, *saṃjñā* as perception, *vijñāna* as consciousness and *saṃskāra* as the impressions or associations.

Journal of the Asiatic Society.
Vol. VIII, No. 1, 1966.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

TOTEMISM IN INDIA, 1965. By John V. Ferreira. Pp. 1–304. Oxford University Press. Price Rs.17·50.

The author deals with the nature of totemism prevalent among the Munda-speaking tribes, the Bhil, the Gondid of Eickstedt, the Andamanese and among certain tribes of Assam, and along with that he has tried to interpret their significance and origin. He submitted this thesis in the University of Vienna for the Ph.D. degree. The author has tried his best to give the résumé of the previous workers who had conducted researches on totemism. He has also tried to throw new light on this subject which is very interesting and significant. He remarked that the problem of defining totemism is rendered difficult because the totemic phenomenon emerges in two upsurges on the totemic continuum and because the variability of totemic complexes and system is greater than was earlier believed.

In this connection he quoted the definitions stated by Frazer, Goldenweiser, Schmidt, Roheim, Radcliffe-Brown and Hackel, etc. He has remarked that in the analysis of totemism in India, the following terms may be followed, viz. Proto-totemism, Quasi-totemism, Apical group totemism, Formal Social totemism and Totemism in Decline. Further, he added that Russell's theorizing reveals the antiquated character of its fundamental points, even at the first glance. The precedence of the clan over the family and of matriliny over patriliny are beliefs which belong to the long-outmoded evolutionary phase of cultural studies. His view that the totems were derived from animals and plants from which the clan members got their sustenance is not at best a simplification of the problem of totemic origins by a reduction of its causal side to a single material relationship.

He has also commented on and referred to the works on totemism by Graebner, Przyluski, Roy, Iyer, Hutton, Hoffmann, Mazumdar, Niggemeyer and Schmidt. He remarked that Niggemeyer failed to give due recognition to the relative variability of totemic manifestation, and further he added that Niggemeyer's description or definition falls short in that it too exclusively identifies totemism as a group phenomenon and connects it too emphatically with group exogamy.

He remarked that the most basic factor from which totemism took its psychological rise is the finitude of human nature and the partly conscious, partly unconscious urges or impulsions towards complementarity and dependence which sprang from it. Group totemism grows chiefly through the process of convergence, which includes different types of diffusion and a certain degree of independent creation and development. Indian totemism appears in essential to have arisen and developed in India. Clan totemism has probably had two centres of emergence which were more or less independent of each other. The quasi-totemism of the Khasi and the Garo owes its origin to stimuli or elements inherent in the area itself and borrowed from beyond that area. The primary quasi-totemism of the extreme north-east is not as old as the patrilineal totemism elsewhere in India. From the point of view of age, intensity and affiliation the totemism of the north-eastern area breaks up into two parts—(i) the apical clan totemism of Birhor and perhaps of the Asur also, (ii) the formal social totemism of certain other tribes in the area. The formal social

totemism is characterized by totem names, totem taboos, clan exogamy and the other attenuated elements occurring sporadically.

The totemism in India is almost entirely of the clan variety and was originally associated with patriliny and clan exogamy. Totemic elements are widely distributed in India, but the extreme south and large areas in the north and north-west are non-totemic. He remarked that the tribes and castes of South India have been relatively neglected by ethnographically trained field workers. Anthropologists will get enough new material from this study as it is a well-written, well-documented and treated subject.

Professor Ferreira tried to collect available data on totemism and has thrown new light on the subject, which would help the serious student to get enough new material from it as the book is well-treated and well-documented expressly for the benefit of the serious workers on the subject.

B. K. Chatterjee

The Dust-Storm and the Hanging Mist: A Study of Birsa Munda and His Movement in Chhotanagpur (1874–1901). By Suresh Singh, I.A.S., Ph.D. Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1966. Pp. xxiv+208+Notes and Appendices, pp. 179+maps and illustrations. Price Rs.30.

The author has done a very useful work by collecting together all information about Birsa Munda and his movement from official records and from personal enquiry in the field where he served in an administrative capacity. Several accounts are already available of the Birsa movement; but they suffer either from a paucity of facts or from a romanticism with which the movement has been clothed in later times.

The present book is thus decidedly an improvement. The reviewer has, however, had the feeling that some of the details could have been cut out without harm to the main theme. The doings of the Police Department or the details of their movement could have been compressed without much harm. The theoretical findings regarding the religious and political movement in question could then have been developed even more fully than they have been.

One of the most interesting aspects of the book is the description of the various sub-sects into which Birsaism has now divided itself. The collection of folk-songs on Birsa and his movement is also a very valuable feature.

We are sure the book will be well received by readers interested in the question of the tribal communities of Bihar, and what has been happening to them.

Nirmal Kumar Bose

The Iron Age in India. By N. R. Banerjee. Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi 6, 1965. Pp. xxiv+264+plates and maps. Price Rs.35.

This is a useful compilation of the evidences so far available about the Iron Age in India. In fourteen chapters, the author covers the ground from the earliest evidence of the use of iron in India to questions like life in the Early Iron Age. He has tried to correlate with care the chronology of N.B.P. ware and of megaliths with the evolution of the Iron Age. The Aryan problem has also been dealt with and discussed in the context of the use of iron and of particular types of pottery.

The author has thus tried to be comprehensive; but he leaves us frequently with a feeling that his provisional hypotheses outstrip those warranted by the evidence itself. He seems to lean more towards stretching his evidence to the utmost possible extent instead of treading the ground softly, and confining himself to the smallest range of maximum probability. This makes the treatment of some questions rather loose.

Yet, as a painstaking collection of all available material and of their systematic, careful presentation, the book will form a most welcome addition to Indian archaeological literature.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

THE LIFE OF MIR JUMLA. By Jagadish Narayan Sarkar. With a foreword by Sir Jadunath Sarkar. Thacker Spink, Calcutta. Price Rs.12.

There are not many figures in Medieval Indian history so arresting as that stormy petrel of the seventeenth century, Mīr Muhammad Sa'īd, known to history as Mīr Jumla: adventurer, merchant, general, diplomat, minister, pro-consul—indeed 'a born king of men'. The life of this gifted child of Persia is worth writing; and so Dr. Jagadish Narayan Sarkar has chosen no mean theme. What he has produced is rather a history of Mīr Jumla than his biography, though both the author and Sir Jadunath in his foreword call it so. Vincent Smith's *Akbar the Great Mogul* is the history of that great emperor; Laurence Binyon's *Akbar* is his biography.

The Life of Mir Jumla is a product from the laboratory of the late Sir Jadunath Sarkar; and every page of the book bears testimony to this fact. Alike in its thoroughness, mastery of details, critical handling of sources, methodical treatment, lucid exposition as well as in equal emphasis on all issues from the portrayal of the hero or the description of a major campaign to the identification of an obscure place-name or the chronology of a minor incident, the book bears the impress of the historian of the decline and fall of the Mughul empire under whose masterly guidance it was prepared. Unlike many of the works of that great historian, Dr. Jagadish Narayan's volume has an index, a full bibliography and footnotes with exact references.

It is a solid contribution to the subject. The author has been indefatigable in ransacking all accessible sources, some of which are still in manuscript: Persian, Marathi and European as well as Assamese, Tamil, Telugu and Sanskrit; and he has brought together for the first time a heavy mass of variegated data in one comprehensive review and judgment. His task has by no means been easy, the more so because at many points he covers the same ground as Sir Jadunath in his reputed *History of Aurangzib*. In fairness to our author it has to be confessed, as Sir Jadunath himself has, that *The Life of Mīr Jumla* is not only a valued supplement but also a necessary corrective to his *magnum opus*. Some of Dr. Sarkar's chapters are absolutely original, others are either elaboration of material on a wider canvas or presentation from different points of view, e.g. chapters on early life, conquest of Eastern Karnātak, Mīr Jumla as minister and as governor of Bengal, as well as sections dealing with his administrative and commercial activities and relation with European traders, and are distinctly original. The author has been able to treat his subject in an objective manner. He does neither reveal prejudice nor zeal; and he does not indulge in hero-worship of which not a few historians in India are guilty. We now know all that we need know about the versatile general of the last great Mughul emperor of India.

I should like to add a few points for consideration of the author in the second edition of his valued work. In a scholarly work like this, it is not graceful to mention points arithmetically: (i), (ii), (iii), etc., as is done in note-books. With the statement of the author that 'in Hindusthan, however, Persians could not hope easily to reach the topmost rung of the ladder' (p. xiii) all may not agree; and a perusal of Blochmann's list of *mansabdārs* in the English translation of the *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, vol. I, and the *Maāsir-ul-Umarā* would not lead us to the same conclusion. Capital 'J' is not necessary in Mīr Jumla as a general, but the author even makes Sir Jadunath do so at p. 293, though he has not done so in his original. The *Tārīkh-i-'Alī 'Ādil Shāh Sānī* by Sayyid Nūrullah, composed in 1666-1667 A.D. and therefore a contemporary work, should not be treated as a secondary source (p. 319). The use of diacritical marks in the simple method adopted in the *Cambridge History of India*, vols. III and IV, would be profitable. A few maps would only enhance the value of the book. There are printing mistakes not covered by the list of errata.

SUKUMAR RAY

SHAH ALAM II AND THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, by Kalikinkar Datta, M.A., Ph.D. (Cal.), P.R.S. The World Press Private Ltd., Calcutta. First published in December 1965. Rs.25 or 40*s*. net. Pp. 148, with a preface, map, bibliography, glossary and an index.

The work under review belies the fond belief, held by some writers, that the biographical phase of Indian historiography has ended. Here, in this well-produced biographical study of Shah Alam II, Dr. K. K. Datta, the eminent author of *Alivardi and His Times* and of several other research books on Indian History in the modern period, has attempted to study 'the growing liquidation of Mughal sovereignty and stages in assertion of British sovereignty in India in its place' (p.v). It is divided into seven chapters.

Chapter I deals with Shah Alam's fruitless expeditions into Bihar and Bengal to arrest the growth of British political supremacy there. He tried his luck thrice but failed. In Chapter II (Buxar to Diwani, 1764-65), Dr. Datta discusses the significance of Buxar and of its logical sequel, the Diwani grant of 12th August, 1765. Chapter III (Delhi Restoration, 1772) tells us the events and circumstances leading to the restoration of Shah Alam II after some years of imprisonment at Allahabad. Chapter IV deals with the Stoppage of Tribute due to Shah Alam from Bengal and Disavowal of Sovereignty during the period covered by the successive administrations of Verelst, Cartier, W. Hastings and Cornwallis. Chapter V mentions the disturbed state of Delhi Affairs during 1778–85 and also the concern of the British about them. In Chapter VI, Dr. Datta narrates Shah Alam's agonies, caused by the brutalities of Ruhela chief Ghulam Qadir and other misfortunes, and then goes on to describe the pathetic appeals for help to different quarters. In the concluding chapter, Chapter VII, are described the factors and circumstances leading to the Eclipse of Shah Alam's sovereignty. This is followed by a critical estimate of Shah Alam's personality.

The story has been told with remarkable lucidity and the work keeps the attention of the reader engaged till the last. The work is based on a skilful use of original sources in different languages, like English, French, Marathi and Persian. But nowhere has the narrative become dull. The book is 'a tribute of regard to the sacred memory of the late Sir Jadunath

Sarkar', who suggested the subject to him. The author expresses his indebtedness to him in different respects.

At the end of the perusal of the book, one is inclined to agree with Dr. Datta's verdict: 'The career of Shah Alam II is a commentary on the history of India during the eighteenth century, which, for various reasons, was a tragic period.' It is clear that Shah Alam himself became a victim of that age of 'delusion and deceit', as he himself aptly described it.

There are, however, a few points on which the reader would expect further light:

(i) Early life of the Prince.
(ii) Analysis of the reasons for the difference in the attitudes of Clive and Warren Hastings towards the Emperor. While Clive wanted to utilize the position of the Emperor who was only a shadow, Warren Hastings described the Emperor as a 'wretched King of shreds and patches'.
(iii) More personal details of Shah Alam.

The learned author might like to throw light on these in the second edition of the book. The get-up and printing of the book are excellent.

JAGADISH NARAYAN SARKAR

RAJA MAN SINGH OF AMBER, by Dr. Rajiva Nain Prasad, Reader in History, Magadh University, Gaya. First published in January 1966. The World Press Private Ltd., Calcutta. 192 pages. Price Rs.25 or 40*s*. net.

The first Mughal Empire of Babur and Humayun was essentially a weak and invertebrate political structure which collapsed within 15 years of its establishment before the blow struck by the Surs. But the Sur Empire was meteoric in its sudden rise and sudden fall. The Mughal Empire was re-established on a firm foundation by Akbar. Profiting by the lessons of the Delhi Sultanate and of his own ancestors, he tried to build up the empire on a novel basis with the co-operation of the Hindus, especially the Rajputs. Thus in the expansion and consolidation of the Mughal Empire under Akbar, a very important and significant part was played by Hindu nobles like Raja Todar Mal, Raja Man Singh, Raja Birbal and others. The study of important personalities like Todar Mal, Man Singh and others is, therefore, imperatively necessary for understanding the role of the aristocracy during the age of the Great Mughals.

Raja Man Singh was one of the most distinguished personalities in the reign of Akbar. We get an idea of the important part he played as an empire-builder—as a general and a statesman—from the accounts in Dr. V. A. Smith's *Akbar the Great Mogul*, Sir Jadunath Sarkar's *History of Bengal*, Vol. 2, and Dr. A. L. Srivastava's *Akbar the Great*, Vol. 1. Here, in this book, Dr. R. N. Prasad has made a significant contribution to Indo-Moslem history by this well-written, well-documented and authoritative biographical study of Raja Man Singh of Amber.

The thesis is the result of seven years of patient study of different classes of contemporary and later sources—Persian, Rajasthani, Hindi, Urdu, Sanskrit, Bengali, English, supplemented by archaeological and epigraphic evidence. The author has collected his materials from different collections, including the Jaipur Darbar records. He has visited various places like Jaipur, Udaipur, Ajmer, Mathura, Brindaban, Varanasi, Baikatpur

(Patna), Hajipur, Darbhanga, Calcutta and Rohtas in search of his materials, which he has used critically and judiciously.

In the Introduction the author has described the importance of the career of Raja Man and stated the reasons why he took up his biography as the subject-matter of his thesis. The book has been divided into 10 chapters:

> I. Ancestors of Raja Man Singh; II. Parentage of Man Singh; III. Kuar Man Singh in the Mughal Imperial Service; IV. Kuar Man Singh and the Ranas of Mewar; V. Kuar Man Singh as the Governor of Kabul; VI. Kuar Man Singh as the Governor of Bihar; VII. Raja Man Singh as the Governor of Bengal; VIII. Raja Man Singh and the last days of Akbar; IX. Raja Man Singh and Emperor Jahangir; X. Character and Personality of Raja Man Singh.

Thus we get here a full-length biography of Man Singh and a detailed account of his political activities—suppression of rebellions and pacification of the country. His governorship of Kabul, Bihar and Bengal was successful in several ways. This supplements Sir Jadunath's *History of Bengal*, Vol. 2, Chapter XI, in various points.

Raja Man Singh has sometimes been regarded 'a parasite of Akbar, an outcast and a traitor'. The author has tried to remove the misconceptions and exaggerated notions regarding the Raja and also to throw new light on his achievements. He has made bold to differ from the views of Col. Tod, Dr. James Wise, Dr. V. A. Smith, Dr. Raghubir Sinha, Rai Bahadur G. H. Ojha and Dr. H. Vedantasastri on different points.

Among the original contributions of the author may be mentioned (i) his reconstruction of the genealogical history of the ancestry of Raja Man from Raja Sorha Deva of the tenth century and (ii) his solution of the problem of the parentage of Raja Man. He has demolished the views of Tod and Smith that Man was the adopted son of Raja Bhagwan Das and has concluded that he was the son of Raja Bhagwant Das and grandson of Bihari Mal; (iii) his reconstruction of the childhood of the Raja; (iv) his critical analysis of the true causes of the Battle of Haldighat, the strength of and the casualties suffered by the two armies, and the results of the battle; (v) his account of the interview between Raja Man and Ram Das Kachhwaha, who along with Sayyid Khan Barha foiled the efforts of the Raja to enthrone his nephew Khusrau in place of Prince Salim.

For the first time we get a discussion of the character and personality of Raja Man and of his attitude to religion and toleration. What is very striking is that though he was a strict Hindu he had many mosques repaired and new ones erected. The Raja emerges not merely as a reputed imperial commander, statesman, administrator, an empire-builder and an intriguer but also as a highly cultured man of wits, beneficent temperament and refined taste and as a patron of learning and literature, art and architecture. Chapter XI detailing the Raja's contributions to architecture and the various buildings, temples and forts erected by him is highly informative and interesting.

The value of the book is heightened by three appendices, and a list of very interesting illustrations including photos of portraits of Raja Man and of a few others, and 56 pictures of Amber and various forts and buildings, but these are somewhat small in size and indistinct.

The printing, paper and get-up of the book are quite commendable. Printing mistakes are very few indeed—but some do not find place in the errata at the end of the book—as on pages xi ('Sri' for 'Sir', 'Khudabaksha' for 'Khudabakhsh'), 21 ('Ranthambor' for 'Ranthambhor'), and 76 ('Mr.'

for 'Dr.' Smith). The word 'farman' always means an imperial order. It is not quite clear why the word 'farman' has been used in Appendices A and B: 'Farmans' of Rajas Man Singh and Madhava Singh. The expression, 'It would be more historically true to say . . . ' (last line, p. 18), appears jarring. One, again, wonders why the author has spelt the word Nainsi as 'Nancy'. The footnotes contain such references as *Akbarnamah* translated by H. Beveridge on every page, e.g. 80, 81, 82, 83, 84 and 85. These could be shortened.

The bibliography is full but the value of the book would have been heightened if the author had given a critical discussion of the importance of the various original sources, especially the Rajasthani *Khyats*, and also added a few maps to illustrate the Raja's campaigns.

JAGADISH NARAYAN SARKAR

CHALCOLITHIC CHANDOLI. By Santaram Bhatchandra Deo and Zianuddin Dawood Ansari. Published by the Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, Poona-6, 1965. Pp. 1–206. Price Rs.35.

The book under review embodies in its 12 chapters the results of archaeological excavations (1960) of an ancient mound in the village of Chandoli Khud on the bank of the Ghod in Poona district in Maharastra. The site, though small, has revealed an interesting cultural assemblage rich in pottery, burials, stone artifacts, terracottas, beads and copper objects. The data of Chalcolithic Chandoli is stated to range between *circa* 1600–1440 B.C. Chandoli lies to the south of the Jorwe and Nevasa group of sites and shares certain cultural traits of the latter.

There is not much of stratigraphy at the Chandoli site. A thick deposit of silt is capped by black cotton soil (6′), the top of which was the scene of the first human habitation at Chandoli. The thickness of the habitational deposit ranges between 4½′ and 5½′. The topmost layer is cut by burial pits of the late medieval period. No complete structure or plans could be had, but the evidence of bits pieced together suggests mud huts strengthened with wooden posts.

A great variety of pottery fabrics characterizes the site. It includes red ware (most dominant), black ware, grey ware and cream-slipped ware. The first includes the Jorwe ware (37 per cent) and Malwa ware (12 per cent). The grey ware with its three varieties contributed about 17 per cent of the pottery. Coarse red wares account for about 30 per cent of the pottery found. As many as 14 ceramic fabrics have been identified. But the excavations have not revealed any sequence. The wares are of various types with painted designs, mostly geometric. The pots and untensils show three groups—those for daily domestic use, those for refined use and the others for ritual or burial.

Urn-burial was the prevailing custom. Of the 24 burials unearthed, 23 are child burials. Most of the burials were laid on the floor of the houses. Such child burials in urns have also been reported from Nevasa (and elsewhere) indicating a close affinity. It is interesting that only one adult burial has been found. It is an extended burial. Does the scarcity of adult burials suggest cremation?

Polished stone-tools are few. Only two axes were found in the excavations. The others, mostly surface finds, include an adze, a chisel, three fabricators and some cores and incomplete tools. Blade tools include blunted backs, end-scrapers, hollow-scrapers, points, serrated blades and

fluted cores. Beads of shell (common), agate, jasper, carnelian, copper and terracotta have been found. The find of a necklace of copper beads with a central jasper band is interesting. The terracottas among others include lamps, discs, wheels, stands, a toy bull and a theriomorphic vessel. The last object is a bull-shaped cylindrical vessel and was probably mounted on wheels. Such bull-vessels are also found in Nevasa and Mohenjodaro. Similar vessels are also reported from Iran, Iraq, Syria, Egypt and other places. Stone objects include saddle-querns, rubber-stones, pounders, anvils, etc., which indirectly testify grinding of grains. Besides pottery, the blade industry is conspicuous in Chandoli and recalls similar industries elsewhere in the Deccan. The copper objects include beads, fish-hooks, chisels, an axe, a dagger, a bangle, a ring, an anklet and a rod. All these so well-documented in the report under review shows Chandoli to be a very rich and interesting site. Claimed by the authors to be one of the best in Maharashtra, it shows illuminating comparisons with the Jorwe, Navdatoli, Nevasa and other cognate sites. On the ceramic evidence there are clear affinities with Navdatoli on the Narmada and Nevasa in Maharashtra. The reader will be impressed with the wealth of the ceramic complex, the terracottas, the blades and the burial traits. From the texts and the fine illustrations, the reader would get an interesting picture of proto-historic village life in Maharashtra in the 2nd millennium B.C. with its arts and crafts and ritual and burial customs. There is, however, no evidence of farming or animal domestication. Agricultural implements like sickles, saws or digging sticks are conspicuous by their absence. No foodgrains have been traced. The Chandolians probably obtained their foodgrains from elsewhere.

The reviewer is not impressed with the nomenclature 'Chalcolithic' to describe the Chandoli cultures. Its meaning and its chronological context in India is rather uncertain. The authors have assigned the place of Chandoli in the so-called Chalcolithic Chronology (ś) in the light of the ceramic evidence found at Navdatoli, Nevasa and elsewhere. Based on this, the relative position of Chandoli, according to the authors, is later than the earlier phases of Navdatoli and possibly a little earlier than Nevasa. In age, Chandoli ranges between 1400 and 1600 B.C. or later. The C_{14} dates of Chandoli are 1300 ($\pm$ 70) B.C., 1330 ($\pm$ 70) B.C. and 1240 ($\pm$ 190) B.C.

Though it is post-Harappan in date, it does not show any link with Harappan or cognate cultures save for one or two rare finds. Nor is there any suggestion of urban life. On the other hand, the traits which characterize Chandoli rather suggest a late Neolithic technology. The few copper objects found do not establish knowledge of metallurgy in Chandoli. Of the 24 copper objects found, 14 are beads fashioned out of crude copper. The ten others include a bangle, a ring, an anklet (fragments), three fish-hooks (fragments), three chisels, a rod, an axe and a dagger or spear with antennae hilt, recalling similar finds in Fategarh, Bithur and Kallur. It is just possible that these few copper specimens are borrowed ones. In the report there is no mention of a smithy, nor have any relics (like slags, crucibles, etc.) connected with ancient metal-casting been found at the Chandoli site. From the meagre evidence, we cannot say that there was a regular use of copper (or bronze) which marks the end of the Neolithic. Hence, until we can establish the fact of regular use of copper artifacts along with that of stone artifacts in Chandoli, the term 'Chalcolithic' as prefixed to Chandoli is a misnomer. Besides, there is no archaeological succession or stratigraphy to confirm its relative position in cultural evolution. We know almost nothing of its antecedents or its successors. The diverse

pottery traditions pose problems. Perhaps a solution lies in the diffusion of these traditions from elsewhere. With the data now before us, Chandoli presents a picture (though necessarily incomplete) of what may be described as a proto-historic variant of the late Neolithic. Some of the traits found at Chandoli and other cognate sites may be traced in the ethnographic present. It is significant that of all the traits represented at Chandoli it is the pottery which is the most dominant and which certainly as a whole characterizes the site. It is not unlikely that it was a potters' settlement. Its population was certainly small if we take into account the burials.

According to the author, Chandoli shows cultural links both with Central India and the Deccan. But the link is more near and stronger with Deccan sites like Nasik, Jorwe and Nevasa. The Jorwe wares, 'the fossil type' of the Deccan Chalcolithic, are most dominant in Chandoli pottery. The coarse red ware is also common. The grey ware typified in burial urns as well as in domestic use in Chandoli is characteristic of the Deccan Neolithic. No other site in Maharashtra has revealed such a range of ceramic fabrics. No doubt, as the authors state in conclusion, Chandoli is an extension of the Jorwe-Nevasa culture complex with its full adoption of the Deccan Neolithic. Indeed, with the data to hand, Chandoli may well belong to the Jorwe-Nevasa culture complex which itself may be the result of contacts during the 2nd millennium B.C. between a proto-historic Neolithic variant and a culture complex (Chalcolithic) characterized by highly specialized red wares painted with geometric designs. The few copper objects presuppose the presence of coppersmiths elsewhere during the period.

The volume is the result of painstaking and intensive studies undertaken by the two learned authors. The great bulk of archaeological material has been systematically presented and illustrated with beautiful drawings and photographs. The text is well-written and the printing is clear. The appendices on skeletal remains (the only adult skeleton found has been described at great length), on copper objects, on shell remains and on flax have added useful information. The book would be a valuable addition to any library of archaeology and will usefully serve scholars engaged in field research. The volume is expensively published and is correspondingly priced.

D. Sen

A Bibliography of Sanskrit Works on Astronomy and Mathematics, Part I, Manuscripts, Texts, Translations and Studies. By S. N. Sen with the research assistance of A. K. Bag and S. Rajeswar Sarma. National Commission for the Compilation of History of Sciences in India: Source Materials Series. National Institute of Sciences of India, New Delhi.

This is a welcome addition to the extremely inadequate bibliographical literature on Indology. Immense valuable information has been collected and presented here principally under the names of various authors arranged alphabetically. References have been given in connection with particular works to their manuscripts preserved in different libraries and listed or described in catalogues, printed editions, translations and studies on them in European languages. The remaining two parts of the projected three will contain 'notes on Indian astronomers and mathematicians as also abstracts of books, articles and reviews in learned periodicals in European languages bearing on the history of Indian astronomy and mathematics'. Restricting the survey to European languages to the complete exclusion of

modern Indian languages in which scholarly articles are occasionally published is scarcely justifiable, though there may be some practical difficulties in the way. Attempts are required to be made to solve these difficulties by organizations like the National Commission for the Compilation of History of Sciences in India. As a matter of fact, a number of bibliographies published in Europe and America are known to have covered, at least partially, publications in modern Indian languages.

A few omissions and inaccuracies were noticed. No cognisance appears to have been taken of the proceedings and transactions of the All-India Oriental Conference and the few scientific papers published in them, like the one in the proceedings of the second session on different *Sulbasūtras* by N. K. Majumdar. In fact there is no separate entry on *Sulbasūtras*. The date of publication of Aufrecht's famous Bodleian Library Catalogue is given as 1954 instead of 1864, and his *Catalogus Catalogorum* is referred to as consisting of five parts in place of three.

An index of names of editors, translators and authors of studies as well as a subject index or a subjectwise arrangement of the entire material would have been of much help to workers.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

STUDIES IN THE UPAPURĀṆAS. By R. C. Hazra, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt., Professor of Smṛti and Purāṇa, Department of Post-graduate Training and Research, Sanskrit College, Calcutta. Vol. II (Śākta and Non-sectarian Upapurāṇas). Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Series No. XXII. Published by the Principal, Sanskrit College, 1, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta-12.

The volume deals with four Śākta Upapurāṇas (the Devīpurāṇa, the Kālikā°, the Mahābhāgavata° and the Devībhāgavata°) and two non-sectarian Upapurāṇas (the Bhaviṣyottara° and the Bṛhaddharma°) along with a fairly long list of lost Upapurāṇas of both the Categories, nine Śākta and as many as twenty-five non-sectarian Upapurāṇas or Upapurāṇas of unknown origin. The decision to take off from the present volume the section on Gāṇapatya Upapurāṇas and replace it by the section on non-sectarian Upapurāṇas, though demanded by the exigencies of the situation, cannot be supposed to have been happy as sectarian matters should have got the precedence over non-sectarian things in the present case. The plan of treatment in the present volume is the same as that in the first (reviewed in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 34, 296-7). Detailed description of each particular work is followed by a discussion of its date and place of origin. Attempt has been made to get together—almost a Herculean task—all available information about the lost Upapurāṇas. Bits of information scattered here and there, especially those found in regional languages, might naturally have escaped notice. Mention may be made of the association claimed in a medieval Bengali text, called the *Jīmutemaṅgala* of the *Jitāṣṭamī-vratakathā*, with the *Bṛhannandikeśvara-Purāṇa* (*Sāhitya-Pariṣat-Patrikā*, 67) and of references to several titles in some other works (*Purāṇa*, 7, 155).

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

M.A., Ph.D., F.A.S., F.A

Vice-Presidents

Sc., M.B., D.T.M., F.N.I.,
S.
A., F.N.I.
y, M.A. (Cal.), B.A. (Oxo

Secretaries and Treasure

ofessor Chintaharan Cha
Kavyatirtha

dra Nath Sen Gupta, M.A

Dr. Sukumar Sen, M.A.,

:—Professor Masood Ha

ies :— (Physical Science
Gupta, M.Sc., I
(Biological Scienc
M.Sc. (Cal.), D

Latest Publications of the Asiatic Society

1. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā.* English tr. by Dr. Edward Conze. Royal 8vo, 225 pp., 1958 .. Rs.15.00

2. *Origin and Development of Bhojpuri* by Dr. Udai Narain Tiwari. Royal 8vo, 282 pp., and 1 map. Monograph Series. Vol. X, 1960 .. .. Rs.30.00

3. *The Nāṭyaśāstra.* A Treatise on Hindu Dramaturgy and Histrionics ascribed to Bharata Muni. Vol. II (Ch. XXVIII–XXXVI). Completely translated for the first time from the original Sanskrit with an introduction and various notes by Dr. M. Ghosh. Royal 8vo, 298 pp., 1961 .. .. Rs.15.00

4. *The Early Annals of the English in Bengal.* Vol. II, Pt. II, Surman Embassy. Ed. by C. R. Wilson (Reprint), 422 pp., 1963 .. .. .. Rs.35.00

5. *Tattvacintāmani-Dīdhiti-Prakāśa.* Vol. II by M. M. Kalipada Tarkacharya. Royal 8vo, 370 pp., 1963 .. Rs.20.00

6. *Sekasubhodaya* by Dr. Sukumar Sen. Royal 8vo, 275 pp., 1963 .. .. Rs.30.00

7. *Haft-Iqlim.* Vol. II by Dr. M. Ishaque. Royal 8vo, 404 pp., 1963 .. .. Rs.50.00

8. *Story of Ti-Med-Kun-Den.* A Tibetan Nam-thar by E. D. Ross. Royal 8vo, 64 pp., 1964 (Reprint) .. Rs.8.00

9. *Index to the English Translation of Maāthir-ul-Umarā.* Vols I and II by Dr. Baini Prashad. Royal 8vo, 445 pp., 1964 .. .. Rs.50.00

10. *The Rajbansis of North Bengal* by Dr. C. C. Sanyal. Roya[l] 4to, 285 pp., 1965 .. .. .. Rs.32.0[0]

11. *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS.* Volume XII[I] Jaina MSS. fascicle II by Dr. A. R. Bhattacharya. Roya[l] 8vo, 118 pp., 1966 .. .. .. Rs.10.0[0]

AR

CALCUTTA:—Published by the Asiatic Society, and Printed by George A. Nullis, Baptist Mission Press, 41a Acharyya Jagadish Bose ...